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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1937

ANGLO-FRENCH COLLABORATION

MADAME ELLEN HORUP
Geneva.

LAST November England had visitors from France. These visitors were University people and politicians and they came to talk with their British colleagues about Spain. There were Professor Victor Basch, chairman of the Civil Liberties Union, Professor Paul Langevin, chairman of the World Committee against War and Fascism, Professor Albert Bayet, member of the Board of the Radical Socialist Party, Jean Longuet, member of the Committee of the Socialist International, etc.

They met Englishmen of all political parties and factions: Winston Churchill, Major Atlee, the leader of the Labour Party, Noel Baker, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Miss Rathbone, H. G. Wells and many others.

After England and France had made an abortive attempt on December 4th to uphold the policy of non-intervention, a report was published on December 18th by a British parliamentary delegation which had visited Spain. On December 19th the Anglo-French conference was held in Paris as the first result of the collaboration started in London. French and English met Belgian, Dutch and Austrian politicians and physicians, and also Jean Zyromski one of the leaders of the International Brigade. Nearly all had been in Spain subsequent to July 18th. Finally, on January 16th-17th, a large International Conference was held for the purpose of planning the co-operation of all forces to come to the aid of republican Spain.

A pamphlet entitled "Frenchmen and Englishmen speak to you about Spain and Peace" contains a summary of the British parliamentary delegation's report and the principal speeches made at the Anglo-French conference. One need not look at the names to perceive the difference between the French and the British. That depends not only on the French temperament but also on France's geographical and political position. The French have Spain right on their doorstep. One step and the reports and the people cross the frontier into their country. There is no Frenchman who does not regard the events in Spain as a direct menace to France. England is not so close and besides they have the privilege of what Lenin called the waiting-room policy.

Another little difference is the absence of the name of the Italian dictator from the French speeches. The French had allowed Mussolini to disappear from that world-historic scene. They only knew of one Fascist dictator who helped General Franco in Spain. The English knew of two. This little difference has been noticed before and every time has had an unfortunate influence on political events. The two rival Great Powers do not make a harmonious team. When the English thought that matters were going too far in Ethiopia, France turned a deaf ear. When France cried out about the occupation of the Rhine, England did the same, and thought it was all a reasonable and innocent joke. In Spain they have both been in dilemma; they both landed in the country in an intervention in favour of the insurgents, and this they agreed to call non-intervention.

It was scarcely accidental that Mussolini's name did not cross the Frenchmen's lips. Rather was it a remnant of the Laval policy, which has been left as an appendage to the Popular Front. In that case one may use Zyromski's words about the blockade: "It is excusable to err once, twice or thrice, but it is inexcusable to go on erring about the same events." And he continues: "As for the blockade, it is too late. It would only be a really effective blockade if the Pyrenese frontier and the coast frontier—both of Spain and of Portugal were closed."

The British Liberal, Wilfred Roberts, who was one of the speakers at the conference and also a member of the parliamentary delegation, briefly summarised his impressions of those ten days in Spain. Besides Roberts, the delegation consisted of two Conservative military men and two members of the Labour Party.

Their object was purely humanitarian. They were to persuade Franco to go gently when he became master of Madrid. But they found the military situation quite different from what they had expected. The Englishmen thought General Franco's chances of taking Madrid were "nil."

The report which is signed by all five contains a description of the effects of the bombardment. A third or a fourth of the buildings have been destroyed. One third or one fourth of the population must therefore be without a roof over their heads, deprived of everything, bedding, clothes, the possibility of preparing food for themselves. The following passage in the report is most damning for General Franco and his methods: "The bombardment has been most effective in the most densely populated working-class quarters. There are even buildings of military importance that have not been bombarded. The object of the bombardment has evidently been to terrorise the civil population and break Madrid's resistance. But it has failed." This last sentence is one of the many expressions of these Englishmen's admiration for the undaunted determination of the Spanish people not to allow themselves to be mastered either by their own people or by the foreigners who are helping them.

What is most urgent at the moment, says the report, is the evacuation of Madrid. The Spanish Government is doing what it can, but that is hopelessly insufficient. Normally Madrid has a million inhabitants. Innumerable refugees from the surrounding country have increased the number, whilst one-third of the town's own inhabitants are in the same situation. The Government is short of conveyances. The lorries which supply the town with food go back crammed with women and children, but in that way no more than 2,000 can be evacuated each day. When more than half-a-million have to go, that rate is hopeless.

Another problem is where to take them. Valencia, which is nearest, like Madrid is already full of refugees. Catalonia, which is twice as far away from Madrid, 40 miles, is the best place." But how are they to be got there? The municipal Government of Madrid is face to face with a hopeless task. Most of them are young, some very young enthusiastic workers devoid of all experience, unimpeachably honest and full of idealism......French organisations have undertaken the care of 50,000 children. British organisations could do the same. The French Premier, Leon Blum, has promised his support in the evacuation of Madrid, but what is required is international co-operation to facilitate the evacuation.

The two main points on which all the speeches at the Anglo-French conference turned were the question of capitalist interests and the risk of the war spreading.

Professor Bayet turned to the Englishmen and asked whether they did not share his belief that, if France were attacked again and the Germans were in Calais it would not mean that the women and children of London were mutilated and killed by Hitler's bombs, as was now the case in Spain. And as to the risk of war, he was convinced that a firm British policy towards Hitler would be the only means of stopping it in Spain and preventing it from spreading to the rest of Europe... ..They already had the proof. On the day when Soviet Russia had had enough of non-intervention systematically broken by Germany and had commenced to supply Madrid, Hitler had not declared war on Soviet Russia."

When Wilfred Roberts had ended his summary of the report he concluded his speech by expressing his own opinion: "There has been no real change in public opinion in England regarding non-intervention. There is a vast difference between England and her Conservative Government and France with her Social-Democratic Government. But there are many English couservatives who consider that it will be risky for British interests if Franco wins. It is imperative that England and France fix a limit for the stream of volunteers joining Franco. I have not much faith in Germany and Italy being willing to sign that. The result may very easily be that the British and French Governments prevent the volunteers from supporting democratic Spain, while Mussolini and Hitler continue to send militarily-equipped troops to Franco." And he added, to the obvious pleasure of the Communist Senator, Marcel Cachin: "It is certain that, if Germany and Italy were brought face to face with a unanimous France, England and Russia, they would not dare to continue the game."

But international politics have nothing to do with unanimity and Franco's two helpers are calmly continuing their activity, while the equilibrist Mr. Eden shakes hands with one of them across naval agreement and with the other one over a gentlemen's agreement. And instead of finding a means of stopping the flow of troops to Franco, he hit on the idea of applying the British Foreign Recruiting Act to prevent British volunteers from helping the republican government of Spain.

The vastly different French Popular Front hastened to follow in Mr. Eden's wake. Although, as the Socialist Vidal said in the Chamber, it was naturally unjust to throw idealistic volunteers together with regular troops, the Bill was passed unanimously in order as the Communist Peri said, to give the Fascist dictators an example to copy !

Shortly after this successful collaboration between the Governments, England and France met again on January 16th-17th, in Paris for the third International Co-ordination Conference regarding help to republican Spain. Professor Basch and Langevin were the chairmen of the committee, twelve other countries were represented, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Norway and Sweden in addition to the big countries. Denmark was not present. There were from four to five hundred delegates from a score of countries.

On the first day Victor Basch presided and gave a brief outline of what the committee already had done. First of all they had organized a delegation to Spain: Senator Eranting, the Vice-President of the Swedish Chamber of Deputies, Duclos, Zyromski and Henaff. On September 10th a permanent delegate, Mme. Huysmans was sent to Alicante to collect and distribute everything that was forwarded. As already mentioned, they had two representatives in London at the Conference, and, besides meetings and exhibitions, they have opened a Correspondence Centre, which every day forwarded hundreds of letters between the Spanish soldiers and their families.

From the delegates report it appeared that the labour organisations in all countries had been first with their help. At the top of the list was naturally France. It interests us more in Denmark to learn what the small countries have done, than what the bigger ones have done. Norway and Sweden, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland has their delegations. Denmark is represented by "Red Help" and "Scandia Help." Mixed committees have been formed in most countries, in which the democratic organisations and anti-fascist intellectuals of all camps sit together with the representatives of the workers.

Sweden seems to have done most with her National Committee of which Branting is Chairman, and her collection of 800,000 kr. Belgium too has done great work. While the Belgian Catholics sent Franco large sums, the workers sent ships laden with clothing and food to Madrid. Isabelle Blume told of how the other sections of the population had done their share: "For example, we appealed for hospitality for the Spanish children. In the course of two days we received nearly 1,000 offers. Now we are collecting for a fully equipped hospital. We have almost all the necessary sheets and blankets. And the sympathy is increasing. If they can go on fighting and dying in Spain, surely we can also go on giving and helping." Even Switzerland, which has both Nazi and Fascist neighbours has her committee of Friends of Republican Spain which had sent ambulances filled with medical materials and clothing, and eight lorries of all kinds of things. Denmark is the only country that has left everything to the workers to do.

The report that gave the best idea of conditions in Spain came from Mme. Huysmans, the Committee's permanent delegate. "For two months I have been in Spain. I have been through twenty bombardments in Madrid. Every day and every night it went on. By day the people stood still and looked up at the aeroplanes to see if they were their own or the enemy's. But at night no defence was possible, for in the dark it was impossible for the Government machines to distinguish between friend and foe. There was a shortage of everything in the city. We had no ambulances. They were at the front, and even there their numbers were too small. When Madrid is being bombarded the wounded cannot be taken to hospital, And sometimes the dead lie where they fall. Many women and children have been unable to get away because the Spanish Government were not allowed to buy the necessary means of transport abroad.

"It is no use moving the children from one place to another. In the whole country there is not a place where a home can be built for the children of Spain, where they will be in safety. From Madrid we send most by rail, but otherwise by lorry. When we see such a train leaving, packed with women and children, we never know whether they will reach their destination alive. Most of them are bombed on the way. A train from Cartagena was blown to pieces. About 250 women and children were hit. And even those who have arrived at their destination, after having been rescued out of the capital, are bombed there.

" The children *must* be got out, not only of Madrid but out of the country. First the sick and weak, and those who are going mad with fear. Nor is there food enough in Madrid. For almost a month the town was without milk, sugar and eggs. And they must have clothes. So, what we need most is means of transport, children's clothing, and places abroad where the children can be taken to. Apart from all this is what the grown-ups are short of."

" God in Heaven," exclaimed a Spanish mother who had her only son, 15 years old, at the front, " can nothing, or nobody make them stop? "

RELIGIOUS CATEGORIES AS UNIVERSAL EXPRESSIONS OF CREATIVE PERSONALITY*

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE SELF AS CREATOR AND GUIDE.

RELIGIONS may come, and religions may go, but creative man goes on for ever. As an instrument of life and as a creation of the human personality religion in its diverse forms and processes is universal and eternal. It is the dignity of the individual as the supreme fact of the universe that is the foundation of man's spiritual existence.

The group and the society, Nature, the region and the world are being prepetually influenced, moulded and re-made by the creative personality of man. The rôle of the individual as the transforming force in cultural metabolism has ever been the factual substratum of world-evolution. In the sociology of values no estimate of man's position *vis-à-vis* the world is more appropriate than what we find in the Jaina *Samādhi-śataka*, which says

Nayatyātmānamātmaiva
Janmanirvāṇameva vā
Gururātmātmanastasmāt
Nānyosti paramārthataḥ.

It is the self that guides the self, its birth and its extinction. The self is its own preceptor and there is nothing else from the standpoint of superior values. Religion is one of its creations like every other thing that belongs to culture or civilization.

THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL GESTALT IN RELIGION.

Dharma and religion are almost synonymous or identical categories, in so far as each implies a binding or connective principle. A cementing or associative ideology is inextricably bound up with the

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* A paper for the Parliament of Religions, convened under the auspices of the Ramakrishna Centenary Committee, Calcutta, 2 March, 1937.

Indian term as with the European. It is in the *milieu* of sociality, solidarism, harmony or equilibrium, in the domain of human experiences, whether individual or collective, that we have to move while dealing with the substance of *dharma* (=religion). Naturally, therefore, both in the East and the West no category has been taken, consciously or unconsciously, in a more synthetic, comprehensive and all-sweeping manner than religion (=*dharma*).

Comprehensive categories are as a matter of course elastic and rather indefinite in contour and make-up. A delightful and often dangerous vagueness has therefore attached from the nature of the case to *dharma*-religions discussions. Religion has ever and everywhere been appealed to, as it can by all means legitimately be appealed to, on the most varied items of human life.

Our Manu and indeed all authors of *Dharma-śāstras* before and after him have devoted attention as much to the health and wealth of men and women as to their manners, customs, laws and constitutions. From eugenics, dietetics and sanitation to jurisprudence, economics and politics there is no branch of human science, physical or mental, individual or social, which has been ignored, overlooked or minimized in these encyclopaedic treatises.

Psychologically, therefore, if there is anything on which the human brains have a right to fight among themselves it is pre-eminently religion (*dharma*). Generally speaking, it would be a sheer accident if any two thinking, scientific, philosophical or creative minds were independently to focus their activities on just the same phases and items of life or thought while dealing with such an all-sweeping, synthetic or pluralistic category. A museum of religions is just the most appropriate pandemonium of thought,—the veritable battle-ground of nations.

In the manner of the chemical analyst in his laboratory it may indeed be possible for the anthropological, historical, scientific or philosophical student of religion to isolate the diverse items or aspects of the religious complex from one another and deal with them one by one individually. This intellectual analysis may be of great help in logic, psychology, metaphysics or sociology. But it is the synthetic whole,—and not the individual parts—that men and women, even the philosophers and scientists themselves, vaguely call religion or *dharma* when they apply it to their own life in the interest of day-to-day and concrete problems, individual or social. Religion is really one of the expressions of the psycho-social *Gestalt* [1] or "configuration" of creative man. In the interest of intellectual clarification the *Gestalt* or structural whole may be pulverized into its contentual atoms, into the *Beziehungen* (relations) and processes, to use an expression from von Wiese's sociology. For certain purposes of scientific and philosophical laboratory-collaboration we may dissociate the religious from the psychical and the social. This pulverization or dissociation can however but lead to the isolation of anaemic or bloodless corpuscles such as pure abstractions ought to be called from the viewpoint of human values. The analysis of parts may nourish our brains as a discipline in logic ; but it is the *Gestalt* or total inter-relations and form-complex that rule our life. The identities in the individual items, the elemental atoms or raw materials may not therefore lead to any identity or formal similarity in the psycho-social or socio-economic *Gestalt* of the persons or groups.

THE GESTALT OF PRIMITIVE RELIGION.

The results of scientific analysis in the field of religion are quite well-known. Even in analytical treatments of religion we are but presented with a diversity of views.

In one group [2] we encounter the view as formulated by Wundt, for instance, in his *Ethik*, that all moral commands have originally the character of religious commandments. That religion furnishes the beginnings of all morality is almost a postulate with a very large number of investigators. The most extreme view is perhaps to be found in Durkheim's *Les Formes élémentaries de la vie religieuse,* according to which science, poetry, plastic arts, law, morality and what not have all been derived from myths, legends, religious ceremonies and ritualistic practices.

An exactly opposite view is also tenable. In Westermarck's *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas* morality cannot be traced in its origins to the gods or religious ideas. Among very many peoples religion cannot be proven to be associated with the regulation of social life, says he. The independence of morality from religion is likewise the conclusion to be derived from Meyer's studies in the *Geschichte des Alterthums* (history of the ancient world).

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[1] S. C. Mitra : "Gestalt Theory in German Psychology," Lecture at the Bangiya Jarman-Vidya Samsad (Bengali Society of German Culture), Calcutta, on September 26, 1936. See the *Calcutta Review* for January, 1937. See also R. H. Wheeler, *The Science of Psychology*, (New York, 1929) and K. Koffka, *The Principles of Gestalt Psychology* (London, 1935).

[2] C. Bouglé, *L'Evolution des Valeurs* (Paris, 1929) pp. 127-129, W. Schmidt, *Origin and Growth of Religion* (London. 1935), p. 132.

Religion and society are both creations of man. Instead of establishing the religious " interpretation of society " for social " interpretation of religion " it is time to recognize or rather re-emphasize the supreme majesty of man as the creator of the thousand and one items which constitute the *Gestalt* of culture or civilization. This is why we should be prepared very often for situations in which the social and the religious are inextricably mixed up with each other, instead of the one being the *function* of the other.

In an objective examination of human attitudes and relations it is possible even to establish an equation between religion and family-life, as Toennies does in *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Community and Society).[1] For, it is in and through the sacredness ascribed to marriage, birth of children, respect for elders, mourning for the dead and other incidents of family life that religion has always and everywhere worked on human spirit and conscience.

Thus considered, religion is virtually coeval with man and his creations. It is impossible to accept the recent thesis of *La Mythologie Primitive* in which Lévy-Bruhl has developed the doctrine of primitive society as being marked by pre-religion. A condition like this is as unthinkable psychologically and undemonstrable anthropologically as his conception of pre-logical or pre-critical mentality such as had been established by him in *Les Fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*. [2]

Rather, in regard to the relations between the logical and the pre-logical or illogical an acceptable view is that of Pareto, who in his *Trattato di Sociologia Generale* has brought into the boldest relief the instincts, emotions, prejudices, etc., *i.e.*, the non-logical and non-rational elements, such as influence the purely rational or mechanistic scheme of human life. The activities or behaviours of men and women are determined by " constant drives " or " residues " of personality. And these residues are as a rule so conflicting that human behaviour becomes normally to all intents and purposes illogical and self-contradictory. There is then plenty of logic in Frazer's standpoint that superstitions are as natural, nay, as beneficial to human beings as rationalism, logicalness and self-consistency.[1]

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[1] Edition of 1935 (Leipzig), pp. 37, 234-235.

[2] Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization* (New York, 1922), pp. 380-389. W. Schmidt, *The Origin and Growth of Religion* (London, 1935) ; A Ouy's resumé in *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* (Paris, May-June, 1936), pp. 317-318. J. Leyder, " Association primitive d'Idées" in *Comptes rendas du deuxième Congrès National des Sciences* (Brussels, 1935), which furnishes an objective criticism of Lévy-Bruhl's *La Mythologie Primitive.*

The "irrationals" of Pareto are not however to be discovered as the only mental features in the alleged pre-logical and pre-religious strata of primitive society. Besides, the Paretian irrationals are quite in evidence even in the most hyper-developed conditions of complex culture-systems. And criticism, discrimination or logic is to be credited to the most primitive of all minds. It would be wrong to identify the religious with the irrational. In the making of religion the whole personality of creative man is active.

The position of Bouglé is, therefore, reasonable which admits that[2] the logicality and rationality of the primitives are abundantly manifest in their religious prescriptions. The modern mind. known to be logical and rational as it is, has not established any thing more serious than obedience to the old, generosity towards friends, living in peace with neighbours, avoidance of intercourse with wives of others, such as were imposed by their gods on the Australians. The divinities of the Andamans likewise punish thieving, robbery and adultery. All these items of "savage" life are not less logical and not less rational than any set of commandments devised by civilized man.

"*L'existence d' une mentalité logique*" (the existence of a logical mentality) may be demonstrated among the Sudanese peoples of Belgian Congo. Even the mystical mentality is not absent, although rare, says Leyder.

The mixture of the rational and the irrational, the logical and the illogical is an integral part of the human *psyche*. Herein is to be found the eternal duplicity of man, as Pascal maintained. Morality is indeed dualistic, nay, pluralistic. Inconsistencies are nowhere more glaring than among the "leaders" or builders of civilization, whether ancient or modern, in whom, as a rule, as Sorokin observes, the "savagery of a lion," the "slyness of a fox," or, at any rate, severity, cynicism and moral indifferentism constitute the "necessary prerequisites for successful climbing through many channels."[3]

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[1] J. G. Frazer, *Psyche's Task* (London, 1913) p. 154.
[2] *L'Evolution des Valeurs* (Paris, 1929), pp. 135-136, 141-142.
[3] P. Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York, 1927), pp. 308-311.

In other words, the presence of alleged superstitions, wherever they may exist, does not lead to the total eclipse of many rational, logical, 'humane' and such other desirable cultural characteristics.

Primitive mentality as operating in the religion of 'savages' was not all haphazard, bizarre and incoherent. The *Wakan* of the Sioux tribe of North America and the *Mana* of the Melanesians are impersonal and anonymous forces such as serve to impart movement and life to the animate and inanimate objects. It is forces like these that are embodied in the *totem*, which is ultimately adored as the divine ancestor of the race. It is impossible to minimize in *totem*-worship the profoundly religious aspect of life as understood by the modern mind.

In the rites organized by the primitives to permit contacts between the two worlds, secular and sacred, " don't we recognize," asks Bouglé quite correctly, " the rudiment of the sacrifices, communions and oblations which still occupy such a great place in the most complex religions ?" Mysticism is thus found to have a very long history.

In the most ancient of human cultures, again, if we may follow Father Schmidt, [1] the belief in a Supreme Being was very deeply and strongly rooted. Traces of this belief are to be found among the Hokas, Algonkins and other tribes of North America. And the idea is gaining ground that this Supreme Being is really the god of a monotheism, especially among the Bushmen of Africa, the Kurnai of South-East Australia, most of the peoples of the Arctic culture, and virtually all the tribes of North America.

FOLK-RELIGIONS.

Between the totemism of the primitives and the world-religions of to-day the psychological and moral links, then, are not few and far between. Not less prominent are the intimacies between the most diverse races of the civilized world so far as the intellectual and moral outfit of personality is concerned. The folk-psychology of the East and the West, as exhibited in the literary creations of Eur-Asia is found to be uniform in a remarkable degree.

We find no difficulty in believing, for instance, with Renan who maintains in his *Mission de Phénicie* that mankind from the earliest times on has worshipped at the same place. [2] No matter what be the race, it has virtually succcumbed to the magical or hypnotic spell, so to say, of the sacred spots of history.

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[1] *The Origin and Growth of Religion* (London, 1935), pp. 260-262.

[2] J. Goldziher, *Mohammedanische Studien*, Zweiter Theil (Halle a.S. 1890), p. 334.

The history of North Africa shows that from generation to generation the same holy place changes the names of the saint. Only the names change, however ; but the sacredness, the divine consecration and the sanctity of the place are handed down through the rise and fall of folk-tradition from the earliest into the most recent times. The Folk-Mohammedanism of Tunis and Algeria, for instance, is essentially the worship of gods and saints—the *Ginn*—to which the North Africans had been used for centuries. [1]

Folk-festivals in connection with the tombs of *Wali,* both male and female, are to be observed as much among the Bedouins of Arabia and the Fellaheen of Egypt as among the Moslems of Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and India. And in many of these festivals the non-Moslems take as great a part as the Moslems. [2]

In the domain of folklore, also, which is very often virtually identical with and forms an integral part of folk-religion the most striking characteristic is the identity or similarity between the mental reactions of the Eastern and Western races. Delight in the stories of adventure, interest in the romantic, the humorous and the marvellous, and sympathy with the fortunes of the heroic personalities, whether fictitious or real, are not confined to any particular race. These are ingrained in the "original nature" of man, so to speak, and form part of his theatrical instincts, love of play and sense of fun. The stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* the *Iliad,* the *Cuchulain,* the *Beowulf* and the *Nibelungenlied* cater to the same demand among different peoples. [3]

The mysteries and miracles of mediaeval Europe as well as the "passion-plays" of Oberammergau and Erl have had their counterparts in India too. Chambers's *Medieval Stage* is an account as much of the folk-*ludi,* feasts, pageants, buffooneries, folk-dances and folk-drama of Europe as of the *Yātrā, Rāmalīlā, Bharat-milāp* and *Gambhīrā* of India with slight verbal modifications. [4]

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[1] Goldziher, Vol. II, pp. 344-345.

[2] Goldziher, Vol. II, pp. 328-334.

[3] Ridgeway : *Origin of Tragedy* (1910), *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* (1915), Ed. Chavannes, *Contes et Legendes du Bouddhisme Chinois, Fables Chinois du VIIe au VIIIe Siècle, Cinq cents Contes et Apologues.* The migration of folk-lore is traced by Chavannes in these studies.

[4] B. K. Sarkar, *Folk-element in Hindu Culture,* London, 1917.

Masks of beasts besmeared with filth are not yet things of the past in European festivities.[1] Christian manners grant "indulgences" to the moralities which are practised in connection with 'vigils' or 'wakes' (*i.e.* all-night watches) that are enforced on the anniversary or dedication day of churches. Summer festivals in the Occident are notorious for such "moral holidays." All this is not psychologically, ethnologically or climatologically distinct from the Asian practices wherever they may be detected by sociologists.

Some of the Buddhist *Jātaka*-stories of the pre-Christian era as well as of the tales prevalent among the various peoples of India to-day are common to those with which the Europeans and Americans are familiar, *e.g.*, in Grimm's collections. Thus the stories of St. Peter in disguise as beggar being entertained by Bruder Lustig, of *Bruederchen* and *Schwesterchen*, of the substituted bride, of the ass in Kaden's *Unter den Olivenbaeumen*, of Teufel smelling human flesh, of the queen's order to kill Maruzedda's three children and bring their liver and heart, of the daughter telling her father, the king, that she loves him like salt and water, of gold-spitting princes, and pearl-dropping maidens, belong to the tradition of both Hindustan and Europe.

The popular May-festivals of Europe and the spring-celebrations (*Holi*, *Dol-yātrā*, *etc.*) all over India are born of a common need and satisfy the same hunger of the human heart. The agricultural observances, harvest rites, ceremonial songs, and rustic holidayings of the Christian are akin to those of the Hindu.[2]

The ideals of life have been statistically and historically the same in Asia and Eur-America. The student of culture-systems can, therefore, declare his inductive generalization in the following words of Walt Whitman:

> "These are really the thoughts of all men in all ages and lands,
> This is the grass that grows where the land is and the water is,
> This is the common air that bathes the globe."

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[1] Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, Vol. I, pp. 93, 115, 145, 149; Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* (1869-78), p. 149, *cf.* Lecky: *European Morals*, Vol. II, pp. 288, 367.

[2] Martinengo-Caesaresco: *Essays in the Study of Folksongs*, London, 1914; John Moyle: *The present ill state of the practice of physik in this nation truly represented*, London, 1702 (a study in British superstitions).

It is the higher intellectuals in a community that are interested in the doctrines of theology, philosophy and metaphysics, while the man in the street in the theatrical, scenic or anecdotal aspects of God, the soul and the other world. The morals, however, though they depend in the last analysis on the individual's status in the economic grades or classes of a people, may for ordinary purposes be taken to be the outcome of its general consensus and collective tradition. In a study of comparative religion we must take care to point out exactly which of these three phases of socio-religious life or human values we have singled out for discussion, for it is clear that it would be unscientific to compare the popular superstitions and folk-beliefs of one faith with the metaphysical speculations in which the high-browed Doctors of Divinity indulge in another.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF CHRISTIANITY

Dante, the greatest poet-saint-mystic of Roman Catholicism, was very much agitated over the "she-wolf" (moral and political muddle of his time). He used to predict the advent of a "Greyhound," a *Veltro*, or Deliverer, who would restore on earth the Universal Italian Empire, both temporal and spiritual. His prophecy finds expression in several eloquent passages of the *Divine Comedy*. Thus Virgil, the "master and guide" of the poet, gives the following hope in the first canto:

> "This beast
> At whom thou criest her way will suffer none
> To pass, and no less hindrance makes than death :
> To many an animal in wedlock vile
> She fastens, and shall yet to many more,
> Until that Greyhound comes, who shall destroy
> Her with sharp pain. He will not life support
> By earth nor its base metals, but by love,
> Wisdom and virtue; and his land shall be
> The land 'twixt either Feltro. In his might
> Shall safety to Italia's plains arise,
> For whose fair realm Camilla, virgin pure,
> Nisus, Euryalus and Turnus fell."

The same apocalyptic faith in a *Yugāvatāra* or God-incarnate-in-man has maintained the optimistic Hindu in all ages of national distress.

The advent of Messiahs to embody the successive *Zeityeists* is thus guaranteed in the *Gitā* by Lord Kṛṣṇa Himself:

Yadā yadā hi dharmasya
Glānir bhavati Bhārata
Abhyutthānam adharmasya
Tadātmānam srijāmyaham.
Paritrāṇāya sādhūnām
Vināśāya cha duṣkritām
Dharma-saṃsthāpanārthāya
Sambhavāmi yuge yuge.

" Whensoever into Order
Corruption creeps in, Bhārata,
And customs bad ascendant be
Then Myself do I embody.
For the advancement of the good
And miscreants to overthrow
And for setting up the Order
Do I appear age by age."

Mediaeval Christianity did not produce only one *Divine Comedy*. Each of the Gothic Cathedrals of the thirteenth century Europe is a *Divine Comedy* in stone. It may be confidently asserted that the spiritual atmosphere of these noble structures with their soul-inspiring sculptures in alabaster and bronze has not been surpassed in the architecture of the East. [1]

We shall now exhibit a few specimens of Christian anthropology. On Christmas and New Year's days the folks of Christendom are used to forecasting their lot according to the character of the first visitor. And what is the burden of their queries ? " What will be the weather ?" they ask, and "what the crops ?" How, besides, are they to "fare in love and the begetting of children ? " And a common superstition among the *Hausfrauen* enjoins that wealth must come in and not be given out on these days. Such days and such notions are not rare in Confucian-Taoist, Hindu, and Buddhist Asia.

It is well known, further, that in South-West England as in parts of Continental Europe, there are several *tabus* in regard to food. Hares, rabbits, poultry, for instance, are not eaten because they are

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[1] B.K. Sarkar : *Hindu Art, Its Humanism and Modernism* (New York, 1920) and "The Aesthetics of Young India " (*Rupam*, Calcutta, January 1922).

"derived from his father" as the peasant believes.[1] There is nothing distinctively Christian in these customs and traditions. Asians can also heartily take part in the processions attending the bathing of images, boughs of trees, etc., with which the rural populations of Christian lands celebrate their May pole or summer festivities. And they would easily appreciate how men could be transformed into wolves by the curse of St. Natalis Cambrensis.

Would the ritualism, the rosary, the relic-worship, the hagiology, the consecrated edifices, the "eternal" oil-lamps in *Waldkapellen* (forest-chapels), pilgrimages, prayers, votive offerings, self-denial during Lent, fasts and chants of the Roman Catholics scare away he Shintoists of Japan, Taoists of China, or Buddhists of Asia? By no means. Indeed, there are very few Chinese, Japanese or Hindus who would not be inspired by the image of Mary. Nations used to the worship of Kwanyin, Kwannon, Tārā, or Lakṣmi could not find a fundamentally new mentality or view of life in the atmosphere of a Greek or Catholic Church service. And the doctrine of faith (*bhakti, saddhā*), the worship of a Personal God, and preparedness for salvation (*mukti*) are not more Christian than Buddhist or Hindu.

Men and women who do not feel strong without postulating God would produce almost the same philosophy of the Infinite and of the immortal soul if they happen to be intellectual. But if they happen to be emotional or imaginative or "irrational" (?), as human beings generally are, they would create more or less the selfsame arts (images, pictures, *bas*-reliefs, hymns, prayers, rituals, fetishes, charms). Humanity is, in short, essentially one,—in spite of physical and physiognomic diversities, and in spite of deep historic race-prejudices. The effort to understand the nature of God or the relations between man and Divinity is the least part of a person's real religion. The *élan vital* of human life has always and everywhere consisted in the desire to live and in the power to flourish by responding to the thousand and one stimuli of the universe and by utilizing the innumerable world-forces.

(*To be continued*).

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[1] Gomme: *Ethnology and Folk-lore* (London), Ashton: *Shinto, the Way of the Gods* (London, 1905), Harada: *The Faith of Japan* (London, 1914).

ADULT EDUCATION

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IN course of his Presidential Address to the Educational Science Section of the 1936 session of the British Academy, Sir Richard Livingstone said: " The future lies with adult education. The time will probably come when man will return to the Universities in middle life, to study systematically the newer developments in their own field, to review and revise their own attitudes and habits of thought." This may seem startling, specially to us in this country, where adult education has hardly begun yet. But in countries where the mass of population is literate and where there is a real demand for higher education, this has become one of the major concerns of the state. In most progressive countries the present century has witnessed a remarkable growth of activity in adult education.

In India the percentage of literacy is so miserably low that the problem before us is more that of attacking illiteracy than that of educating further the ill or half educated. We have to impart rudimentary education before we can think of widening the intellectual horizon and enlarging the range of curiosity and inculcating culture and refinement. Again, situated as we are, we have to ask whether our work should for the present be confined to the urban population or whether we should spread ourselves far and embrace the vast rural area also ? We have also to determine what different types of education are suited to the urban and rural areas. What part can the Universities play in this movement ? How far and in what ways can the Municipal and District Boards help ? What scope is there for private enterprise, and to what extent can the Education Department forward its aims ?

I shall try to indicate presently what lines in my judgment the adult education movement should follow in India. But before I do that I should like to offer a brief survey of that has been and is being done in other countries. This survey should serve the double purpose of suggesting possible and profitable paths of advance and of warning us against steps that have been tried and abandoned elsewhere.

Adult education, it has been well said, assumes, if not high intellectual attainment in its students, a maturity of thought and of reflection along with a willingness to undertake serious study for its own sake. It assumes further that it is the duty of the community to provide opportunities for further study for those who were compelled to cut short their educational career and take to bread-winning at a comparatively early age. It admits that the world's best brains are not necessarily to be found at the Universities, which have in the past been attended in the main by the prosperous section of the community. This was not always so ; Chaucer's ' poor clerk of Oxenford ' was typical of many others ; but in the course of centuries, and with the loss of church influence and the preponderance of the public-school products, the older Universities have tended to become too expensive for the man of average means. It is the bright but poor man whom adult education most benefits ; " some mute inglorious Milton " whom the adult education can inspire. the aspiring scholar and budding politician whom circumstance has prevented from rising to the full height of his intellectual stature. Let not the Universities be content with the work done in ' the studious cloister's pale.' The work in the halls and colleges and libraries and laboratories is valuable, very valuable ; but it necessarily reaches a very small circle ; it serves only the favoured few. Old institutions, enjoying immunity from care owing to large endowments, may perhaps afford to ignore the clamant needs of the masses. They can continue to cater to the aristocracy. But the Universities that depend on popular support and are able to exist only because of legislative grants must appeal to a wider audience and reach a much larger number than heretofore. There need be no alarm at a possible lowering of University standards ; there is bound to be a difference between those who take a degree after three year's residence and those who receive instruction rather spasmodically, amidst the distractions of a busy life and family responsibilities. But the difference need not all be in favour of the former. The Universities Grants Committee Report of Great Britain for 1829-30 to 1934-35, just issued, puts the position very well : " It is true," the Commissioners say, " that some critics have doubted whether the duty is one which Universities ought to undertake. There is the danger of popularisation in the bad sense of the word, of seeming to offer education " without tears," of encouraging people to expect that they can have education of a University quality cheaply and without a genuine intellectual discipiline. It has been feared that in such work there may be a threat to the

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intellectual standards and even to the intellectual integrity proper to a University. Now it is undoubtedly the special function of the Universities to be jealous guardians of University standards. This task they have on the whole performed with great success, partly by supplying from their own ranks a large number of the tutors and teachers, and partly by investigating and guaranteeing the academic quality of the rest. Moreover, the students in tutorial classes commonly make for inferiority in strictly intellectual preparation and in formal education by maturity of experience. Further, it is noteworthy that the extramural tutorial class at its best is a peculiarly successful example of intellectual team-work. There is a sincerity and actuality about the discussion at such classes from which not only the class-members, but those professors and lecturers who act as tutors, have a good deal to learn which they could hardly acquire otherwise. In a word, it is now generally recognized that work in the domain of Adult Education is an integral part of the normal activity of the Universities, with a legitimate claim on their interest and financial support."

These words apply with even greater force to Indian Universities, for they are very far removed from the general Indian population. Mainly owing to the fact that University men occupy high positions in the official hierarchy and to the circumstance of a foreign language being the medium of instruction and examination, Indian Universities have not yet succeeded in being regarded as national institutions. They are still exotic. The man in the street has no sort of feeling about them. They have not been able to arouse any popular enthusiasm ; the business-men, the capitalists, the landed magnates have no attachment towards them. It is of utmost importance that if they undertake any scheme of adult education, they must use the vernacular of the place as the medium of instruction. I am fully aware of the difficulties. I do not minimise them. Tha obstacles are many and distracting and discouraging—the absence of scientific terminology, the battle of the scripts, the tug between Sanskrit and Arabic and Persian, the hybrid monster known as Hindustani, the inter-provincial complications, and many others. But every one of these can be successfully got over, if there is a will to overcome them. Only when we use the mother-tongue and we express ourselves with correctness, with skill and with eloquence, we can reach the hearts of those whom we address.

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The Universities have also a spacial function to perform, which no other agency can undertake. The training of teachers for adults is a task which can best be performed by them. Some American institutions, notably the Teachers' College of Columbia University and Ohio State University, are making a careful study of the subject of adult teaching, specially adult class-room technique. Another problem is the determination of the type of person who should be selected to be a teacher of adults. The adults have experience of the world ; in some sphere of work they are experts and specialists ; they cannot be imposed upon. They cannot be told, " You cannot understand this," nor " wait until you are older." The teacher must have considerable ingenuity and knowledge, and self-confidence. Much tact will be needed. He must be taught not child but adult psychology. He should make certain that his teaching is not only profitable but also pleasurable.

Let me briefly mention what is being attempted in the foreign countries, in Europe, America, and Japan. In Great Britain, adult education is the result of two main movements. The University Extension Lectures, which began in the Seventies of the last century at Cambridge and were followed by others, were meant to cater to the needs of audience outside Universities, by providing courses of lectures, chiefly in history and literature, given by University teachers. Then in 1903, Dr. Albert Mansbridge founded the Workers' Educational Association. The W. E. A. sought to introduce to working men and women studies of University standard, directed by tutors of University training. There are two important bodies actively working at present—the Adult Education Committee,—an Advisory Standing Committee set up by Board of Education—and the British Institute Adult Education, a voluntary body of sympathisers. The Board of Education has shown a clear understanding of the problem : it recognises the limitations under which adults are to study. The highest type of course for which it makes a grant is a tutorial class lasting three years ; " it is expected to aim at the standard of University work in honours." The most popular subject of these courses has been Economics or Economic history, but literature, philosophy, and sociology have been favourites too. Such a course, spread over three years and aiming at a high standard of proficiency, cannot obviously be for every man. Accordingly, the Board recognises one-year courses, and terminal courses and even shorter vacation courses. The Adult

Education Committee and the Institute of Adult Education are also interested in educational activities like the drama and broadcasting.

In Germany, history of early adult education begins with the Academische Arbiter-Unterrichts-Kurse (Academic Classes for Working People). This movement began about the year 1900 and it was led by a group of German under-graduates, who held advanced social views and were therefore not popular with the conservative sections. " The members undertook to share out knowledge acquired at the University to the working man and woman. The movement began with the most elementary kinds of teaching, even with revivifying the three R's. It built higher and higher on this basis, and proceeded to impart a more and more scientific teaching. After the War, the movement was befriended by Government and the Municipal authorities, but during 1929-32 it suffered considerably. In 1933 all the trade unions were dissolved." Hitler felt that the exclusion of the masses from the cultural life of the nation left them a prey to foreign influences which in music, film, literature and drama appealed to their lowest instincts. So factories, offices, and stores were examined and new amenities provided for the workers. Opportunities were provided for all forms of sport, and the necessary courses of instruction were attended by 900,000 persons from the first year." A special department for travel and hiking has been set up, for the better utilisation of leisure. It has its own fleet of steamers. Attention is also paid to drama and cinema. By these and other means the worker is encouraged to feel that he shares in the cultural life of the community.

In Denmark, 30 per cent. of the small farmer and working-class population attend the adult schools voluntarily and in many instances at their own expense. These institutions are known as the Danish Folk High Schools, and they teach a five months' course, the education being in the humanities rather than technical or utilitarian.

In Italy, a National Leisure-Time Institute was established by the Royal Decrees of May 1, 1925, and November 11, 1926, " to promote the sane and profitable employment of the leisure hours of workers by means of institutions designed to further the development of their physical, intellectual, and moral capacities." The ministry of Corporations recognises the inherent defect of a mechanised state of society ; the danger is to regard the worker as merely a part of the machine, subordinate to the machine, as much as an automaton as a machine. The National Institute attempts therefore to counteract this tendency and interest its members in sport, excursions, artistic education, and schemes of social service. Considerable importance is attached to sport and excursions, not merely because of their educative value, but mainly because the State desires to have in reserve a trained army of good athletes and mountaineers. By means of folklore, the Theatre, the Cinema, Radio and Schools of Music, artistic education is imparted. The Institute provides also courses of technical instruction. It has schemes of insurance and house purchase. But its activities are by no means confined to the towns. It extends them to the rural districts also, and is therefore of special interest to us in this country. In the villages it gives instruction in the use of agricultural machinery. It provides courses in Pruning and in the use of fertilisers. It imparts instruction in the laws passed to facilitate land reclamation. Afforestations and the care and cultivation of silk-worms and mulberry trees are others of its activities. In 1926 the number of Leisure-Time Clubs was 1,064, and they had a membership of 280,548. In 1932, there were 17,809 clubs with 1,775,570 members—a phenomenal increase which demonstrates the value which the community placed on the work of the clubs.

In Japan, a department of Adult Education was created in 1929. The Ministry of Education took a very comprehensive view of the problem, and attempted, in my judgment, more than had been thought of in other countries. It established four courses—1. Adult Education. 2. Civic Education. 3. Mothers' Education. 4. Wage-Earner's Education. The Universities, technical schools, and provincial governments were instructed " to undertake the task of establishing adult education courses at 120 to 130 places. In 1934, there were 24,000 students of primary, grammar and middle schools ; this shows the extent to which this education has spread.

In the United States of America there has been planning on a large scale. The movement began with a Conference, convened by the Carnegie Corporation of New York in 1924. There various suggestions were made and several plans were discussed. Libraries, workers' night schools, museums, vocational study—each found its advocate. The American Association for adult education has served as an agency for studies and experiments intended to shed light on teaching methods and administrative problems in adult education.

Over 20,000,000 people in the U.S.A., are taking advantage of some form of adult education. Every grade of adult, from the University graduate to the illiterate, is represented. In the large cities, " the lighted school house " is a common evening sight ; and in rural districts schools are open during the evenings for classes, forums, and discussion groups. Public libraries offer advisory service to individuals who desire to study with some special object in view. University extension classes enrol every year thousands of students in classes and correspondence courses. Since 1929, increased emphasis has been placed on vocational training and occupational readjustment." Many unemployed persons have attempted to keep themselves employable by enrolling in vocational classes.

An interesting experiment was made in America, in December 1933, with the appaintment of an Educational Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps. The objectives of the Corps are as follows: (*i*) to develop in each man his powers of self-expression, self-entertainment, and self-culture ; (*ii*) to develop pride and satisfaction in co-operative endeavour ; (*iii*) to develop as far as practicable an understanding of the prevailing social and economic conditions, to the end that each may co-operate intelligently in improving these conditions; (*iv*) to preserve and strengthen good habits of health and of mental development ; (*v*) by such vocational training as is feasible, but particularly by vocational councelling and adjustment activities, to assist each man better to meet his employment problems. The Camp adviser advises the young man in tne fields of health, education, personality, and vocations. The Camp has a hobby-craft phase too. Among the crafts being developed are rustic furniture-making, wood working, wood carving, metal work, archery, model boat making, model airplane building, linoleum block carving, square knitting work, Indian bed-work and basketry. Several of these have vocational implications, and many of the men participating in them are making them sources of income.

The main essence of the plans of adult education is that the immediate needs of the adult must be the dominant concern—not so much what he should, but what he wants to study. No fixed programme can thus be laid down. It must vary. The organiser must possess imagination and resourcefulness. The choice of subjects must be left to the student.

The task in India is stupendous, and except for some efforts in Gujrat, Bombay, and Calcutta, hardly even a beginning has been made. The extension lectures and extramural lectures organised by the Universities barely touch the fringe of the problem. They have not reached the adult population, they have not drawn the workers and the labourers, they have appealed only to the highly educated classes, because they have on the whole dealt with "advanced" academic subjects, but chiefly because they have been in English. Nor are occasional lectures the best way of reaching the adults; voluntary works are needed, who will attend the classes regularly and make their talks attractive and profitable. The task is worthy of the best brains, the loftiest natures—to bring light and grace and sweetness to the lives of millions, to make their labours bearable, to help them to hope and aspire and greatly dare. Factories and mines and the dusty purlieus of offices drive all joy out of life. Anxiety, care, toil, fret—these gnaw at the core. Blessed are they who take a breath of free air, a ray of sunshine into the lives of those who dwell in darkness.*

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* Presidential address delivered at the Adult Education Section of the 12th All-India Educational Conference at Gwalior.

MR. A. J. AYER'S LOGICAL POSITIVISM

DR. RASBEHARI DAS

STUDENTS of contemporary phillosophy have surely heard of a growing body of thinkers who are generally grouped under the name of the *Viennese Circle*, and whose philosophical theory is commonly known as logical positivism. Logical Positivism may be said to be the latest important movement in European philosophy. The leaders of this movement, such as Schlick,[1] Wittgenstein and Carnap, at one time belonged to Vienna, but even then they had important collaborators from other centres of learning, notably Reichenbach and Dubislav and others from Berlin. This movement is no longer confined to Vienna and Berlin ; it has spread to many other universities and the leaders themselves have moved away from their original places of work. Carnap went to Prague ; he has recently been appointed professor at Chicago. Wittgenstein is probably now at Cambridge. Reichenbach has been compelled, I think, for racial reasons, to leave Germany, and has joined the University of Istambul in Turkey.

There is an entire philosophical magazine in German (*Erkenntries*) which is devoted to the elaboration of the views of these thinkers and publishes their latest researches. They have besides published many books and there are some books on their movement also. But not much material was available in English to study their thoughts. There is now an English magazine, *Analysis*, which is largely inspired by the ideals of this school. But there was no single book, as far as I know, in which a systematic exposition of their views could be found. It was left to a young Oxford philosopher to supply this want. Mr. Ayer's book, *Language, Truth and Logic*, is not explicitly designed to give an exposition of the views of the *Viennese Circle* or their logical positivism. He writes with conviction as an independent thinker, but he admits that he is in closest agreement with the views of those thinkers and acknowledges his debt specially to Carnap.

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[1] We are extremely sorry to learn from a note published in the September issue of the *Philosophical Review* that Prof. Schlick was assassinated by a mentally deranged student in June last.

I am not sure whether Mr. Ayer's view can be properly characterised as genuine positivism, but in rejecting metaphysics and connecting the meaning of a proposition with its verifiability he is certainly upholding a cardinal doctrine of the logical positivists. Mr. Ayer may be taken to represent the left wing of the school and like other leftists he presents an extreme view. In this paper I shall not be concerned with the orthodox logical positivism, but with the views of Mr. Ayer which he has propounded in his recently published book named above.

In the very first chapter, which is entitled '*The Elimination of Metaphysics*,' Mr. Ayer is concerned to show that metaphysics, in the sense of knowledge of a transcendent reality, is quite impossible. Kant also maintained that there could be no knowledge of any supersensible reality, because what was supersensible could not be an object of sense-experience, and sense-experience, for Kant, was necessary to constitute a case of real knowledge. So for Kant too metaphysics was impossible. But Mr. Ayer distinguishes his position from that of Kant. According to Kant, constituted as we are, we cannot know supersensible realities, but propositions about them are not meaningless for us, and we can very well believe in them. For Mr. Ayer metaphysics is impossible because no metaphysical proposition has any literal significance. To speak metaphysics is to speak nonsense. The statement 'God exists' was not at all meaningless for Kant, although he confessed he would not be theoretically justified if he asserted it. Mr. Ayer tells us that the statement has no intelligible meaning. We may be curious to know what determines the significance of a statement. And so we learn that a statement is significant only when it is verifiable through sense-experience. If a proposition is to be verifiable and so significant, there should be some possible sense-experience relevant to it. So when it is said that the so-called metaphysical propositions are to be rejected because they are meaningless, the real ground of rejection appears to be that there are no sense-experiences relevant to them. This position is not after all very different from the position of Kant.

The criterion of verifiability is to be applied to statements in order to see whether they are significant. But we find many statements are accepted as significant although they are not strictly verifiable. So a distinction is made between practical verifiability and verifiability in principle. We cannot, for instance, practically verify whether there are mountains on the other side of the moon, because we have at present no means of going to the other side of the moon and of observing for ourselves the state of things there. And yet propositions about mountains on the other side of the moon are significant for us, because they are verifiable in principle, in the sense that we know what observations would make them true or false. Thus in deciding whether a statement is significant or not, we have to consider whether it is verifiable in principle.

There is another point to be noted about verifiability. A proposition is verifiable in the strict sense when it can be definitely established. But Mr. Ayer thinks that no proposition can be either conclusively proved or disproved. So verifiability in the strict sense is not useful at all, and we have to use the test of verifiability in a weak sense. In the weak sense a proposition is verifiable if it is possible for experience to render it probable. We shall discuss this question when we come to consider Mr. Ayer's notions of truth and falsity. But in the meantime we note that although Mr. Ayer has been freely speaking of statements and propositions as having or lacking meaning, he has not thought fit to provide us with a theory of meaning.

Moreover it is apparent that he is using the term meaning in a technical sense. When he condemns a statement like 'God exists' as meaningless, he cannot possibly mean that 'God exists' is an unmeaning combination of sounds like *abracadabra*. Even about any modest empirical statement we can ask whether on hearing the statement we get no meaning at all before we have considered the question of its verifiability. If the statement gives us no meaning to start with how are we to consider whether or not it is verifiable? If you do not understand what a statement by itself means, what can you even attempt (either ideally or actually) to verify? If it must be admitted that we get some meaning from an empirical statement, even before we consider its verifiability, can we deny that sort of meaning to metaphysical propositions? It may be said that metaphysical propositions lack all factual content, which can come within our experience. But what if metaphysical propositions are never meant to express any such content?

Metaphysics is condemned on the ground that it is concerned with a transcendent reality which has no connexion with our experience. But do we have in the history of philosophy any instance of a metaphysics which deals with matters that are absolutely unconnected

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with our experience? It seems that we are interested in metaphysical problems only because their solutions are expected to throw light on important problems of life and conduct. We do not simply pass through experience, but also feel the need of understanding it. Metaphysics, if it does anything, must help us to understand and interpret experience. Metaphysical entities, whatever they be, must mean something for our experience, even though they may never be objects of sense-experience. It is mere prejudice to identify experience with sense-experience. If such identification were justified, the qualifying word ' sense ' would not be necessary in the term ' sense experience.' Thus it seems that in condemning metaphysics, one either condemns something without proper grounds or rejects something that does not exist.

We commonly think that the main part of philosophy is metaphysics, but if metaphysics is eliminated from philosophy, it is interesting to know what still remains over for philosophy to do.

Mr. Ayer points out that it is not the business of philosophy to construct deductive systems. If we are to construct such a system, we require a starting point which should be absolutely certain. For unless our premises are certain, we cannot rightly arrive at conclusions which are certain. Descartes claimed to have discovered such a sure starting point in his *Cogito*. He deduced the existence of the self from the fact of thinking. The argument is usually stated thus: "I think, therefore I am." But strictly speaking, we do not have ' I think ' to start with. All that we can legitimately say is that there is a thought now. But from the fact that there exists a certain thought at a time, it does not at all follow that there are other thoughts at any other time or that there has been a series of thoughts sufficient to constitute a single self. Hence, our author points out, we cannot follow the example of Descartes.

There are however *a priori* truths which are certain. But *a priori* truths are tautologies. It is only a tautology which we can know *a priori* and of which we can be certain. It may be noted here that Mr. Ayer recognises no *a priori* synthetic propositions. Now from a set of *a priori* analytical propositions or tautologies, taken by themselves, only other tautologies can be deduced, and they determine no truth about reality. Besides tautologies we have only empirical propositions and they have their proper place in some science or other. Whatever falls within experience can be made an object of scientific study. But if empirical propositions are assigned to sciences and tautologies to logic and mathematics, there seems to be nothing left for philosophy. And in point of fact, I think, there should be no philosophy for people who are wedded to this way of thinking. But Mr. Ayer contrives (in common with some Cambridge philosophers) to find some work for philosophy, which is called analysis. Let us now try to understand what is meant by philosophical analysis.

Philosophical analysis is not a name for any subtle intellectual process by means of which one might hope to obtain for oneself an unerring insight into the heart of reality. It is not designed to give us any new knowledge. It is merely a way of defining certain terms and is thus exclusively concerned with linguistic usage.

A distinction is made between explicit definitions and definitions in use. In an explicit definition, we are concerned to find out a symbol or symbolic expression which is synonymous with the term to be defined. Two terms or symbols are said to be synonymous with one another when the place of the one in a sentence can be taken up by the other without producing a change in the meaning of the sentence. When we define an oculist as an eye-doctor, our definition is an explicit one. Philosophical analysis has nothing to do with definitions of this sort. It gives us only definitions in use, and in such definitions we merely show how the sentences, in which a certain term to be defined occurs, are to be translated into other sentences which contain neither the definiendum nor any of its synonyms. Those who have have some acquaintance with the literature of the subject will have seen that we are here introduced into the theory of logical construction. When a sentence containing x can be translated into other sentences which do not contain x or any of its synonyms, but a, b, c, etc., then x is said to be a logical construction out of a, b, c, etc. It is in this sense that a material thing is said to be a logical construction out of sense-contents. We are not to understand by this that a material thing is composed of sense-contents. All that is meant is that when we are speaking of material things, we are saying something about sense-contents. That is to say, sentences about material things are translatable into sentences about sense-contents. Philosophical analysis thus instructs us only in the use of certaian terms. When we are told that a table is a logical construction out of sense-contents, we do not at all know how the table is actually constructed nor what relation there is between it and the sense-contents out of which it is said to be logically constructed. It is a pity that although the theory of logical construction is vital to many of Mr. Ayer's doctrines, he has not taken the trouble to explain the theory in sufficient detail. The most elaborate treatment of the subject, as far as I know, is still to be found in the series of impressive articles which Mr. John Wisdom contibuted to *Mind* some time ago. Those who are not already familiar with the notion of logical construction will fail to understand the exact meaning of many of Mr. Ayer's statements. In some places he has spoken of x as constituted by a, b, c, etc., without any qualification, and one may think that a, b, c, etc., are parts of or elements in x, whereas in fact x is a mere logical construction out of them. But it is true that in other places he has explicitly stated that in such cases, a, b, c, etc., are not to be conceived as parts or elements of x.

Thus it appears that the task of philosophy is to give us definitions in use. This in the best resort means that we are to learn from philosophy how sentences of a certain kind are to be translated into sentences of another kind. But this linguistic business of translating sentences seems rather a poor work for philosophy. And then, either the original sentences are by themselves intelligible or they are not. If they are not intelligible and we do not understand what they mean, we cannot possibly translate them. If they are intelligible, why should we translate them at all ? It is supposed that such translation increases our understanding of the original sentences. It is admitted that we understand in a way what is meant by 'This is a table' and can identify the situation which would verify or falsify this statement (p. 83). But we may well be quite unaware of the hidden complexity of this statement which is revealed by our translation of it in terms of sense-contents. Thus it is claimed that our views are clarified and understanding increased by this sort of analysis. I am by no means sure that this is really the case.

You no doubt assert that when you are saying something about sense-contents (in your translation) you are saying something about the table, although you do not mention the table by name. But when you further assert that the sense-contents are not parts of the table or any elements in it, and do not also indicate any intelligible relation between the sense-contents and the table, how is it possible then to take your statements about sense-contents as equivalent to a statement about the table? Shall I get any idea of the table from your statements about sense-contents, when I know that the table is not related to the sense-contents ? It may be said that the table is not altogether unrelated with the sense-contents, since it is a logical construction out of them. But our question now is precisely about the sort of relation that is implied by logical construction, and unless that relation can be clearly indicated, logical construction is bound to remain a mystery or a deceptive name. Moreover, logical construction ultimately means nothing more than a kind of linguistic equivalence between certain statements, and we contend that the equivalence is either quite dubious or argues a like equivalence between the terms spoken about in the different statements. We suggest that the theory of logical construction, far from helping the elimination of metaphysics, is itself based on an unavowed metaphysical hypothesis of the identity of material things with sense-contents. This hypothesis is metaphysical, because it cannot be proved or disproved by sense-experience.

Mr. Ayer represents a type of strict empiricism, and since experience gives us only contingent truth, he has to explain how we come to possess necessary truths, as are undoubtedly formed in logic and mathematics. He says that the truths of logic and mathematics are all analytical propositions or tautologies (p. 100). They in fact represent no truth about reality at all. They express only our determination to use certain expressions or symbols equivalently or as synonymous with one another. This amounts to saying that logic is concerned merely with linguistic conventions. Will all logicians be ready to accept this position ? It is as if we were not to obey logic but logic were to be created by a fiat of our will. For our determination to use language in a particular way is nothing but an expression of our will. We have no doubt heard from some authorities that logic and mathematics contain nothing but tautologies. We should have been very grateful to Mr. Ayer if he had taken pains to explain at same length how in logic we are concerned with nothing but tautologies. As it is, his assertions fail to carry conviction.

As a consistent empiricist Mr. Ayer does well to deny the concept of truth altogether. By sense-experience we get sound or smell, and we can never get at truth as a content of sense. But those who are not of his persuasion will not be convinced that in saying that a proposition is true we are not asserting anything *about* the proposition, but are simply asserting the proposition itself. According to Mr. Ayer, to say that it is true that Queen Anne is dead is merely to say that Queen Anne is dead. Still he cannot altogether avoid the problem of truth.

And he formulates it in this form: How are propositions validated? Of course all propositions are not validated in the same way. Propositions of logic and mathematics are valid if they do not involve self-contradiction. But an ordinary empirical proposition has to be validated by our actual observation. In this connexion Mr. Ayer maintains the very unpositivistic position that every empirical proposition is an hypothesis which can be rendered more or less probable by our favourable or unfavourable observation, but can never be absolutely established or confuted. A positivist is not ordinarily doubtful about the deliverance of sense-experience. In fact the only certain knowledge for him is the knowledge derived from sense-experience, but if sense-experience also fails to give us certainty, we may well despair of ever obtaining any knowledge that is certain. We can see here how empiricism may lead to scepticism and agnosticism.

By a very ingenious argument Mr. Ayer tries to make out that we can be doubtful even about the truth of an ostensive proposition like 'This is red' which refers not to a physical thing but to a content of sense. It is easy to understand how we may be mistaken in our judgments of perception, because there are cases of illusion, and we cannot be antecedently certain whether in a particular case the supposed perception is not an illusion. But when it is not a question of knowing an independent and external reality but only a content of sense, whose entire being consists in appearing within experience and which therefore does not permit the distinction of seeming and being, we fail to see how there can be a possible mistake about it. Mr. Ayer does not mean to suggest that our sensations are themselves doubtful (p. 131). Indeed it would be, according to him, nonsensical to say so, because sensations are not the sort of thing that can be doubted. Only propositions about them are doubtful. Sensations simply occur, and it would be a gross logical blunder to identify a proposition about a sense-content with the corresponding sensation. But do sensations occur like physical events without having a necessary implication for knowledge? When a sensation occurs, do we or do we not know that it has occurred? If it is permissible, when a sensation has occurred, that I should know that it has occurred, may I not indubitably state that it has occurred? A sensation is of course not the same thing as a proposition about a sense-content, but if the sensation is to be available for knowledge and communicable, it inevitably gives rise to a proposition about a sense-content, and the proposition seems to be as indubitable as the occurrence of the sensation itself.

If all empirical propositions are mere hypotheses, it is difficult to see how we can ever arrive at any knowledge, and how any proposition can be validated or even rendered more or less probable. Knowledge should consist of positive assertion and take the form 'this is so.' But a hypothesis makes no assertion, and so by piling up any number of hypotheses we can never obtain a positive assertion which knowledge demands. We frame a hypothesis to explain some facts which we already know and to anticipate others which we expcet to know in the future. A hypothesis does not present us with a fact, but it has meaning and is relevant only in reference to some facts. If the facts turn out as we anticipate, our hypothesis is rendered probable. But there should be no doubt about the facts themselves. If in the place of facts, we get only other hypotheses, they will not have the slightest tendency to increase in the smallest measure the probability of the original hypothesis.

Mr. Ayer is constantly speaking of sense-contents and we should welcome his definition of the term. He defines a sense content as a part of sense-experience (p. 188). Apparently he regards sense-experience as being quite intelligible without definition. But in the sense in which we generally understand sense-experience, can we speak of it as having parts ? Moreover when we speak of something as being a part of another, we mean that there is something beside it within that whole. What is there beside sense-content in sense-experience ? If you say it is consciousness, I have to ask whether you can legitimately accept an entity like consciousness, and, if you do, whether consciousness and content can form co-ordinate parts of any whole.

The self as a substance is of course rejected by Mr. Ayer but it is still retained as a logical construction out of sense-experiences. As no logical construction contains as its parts the entities out of which it is constructed, we should not conceive of the self as a sum or an aggregate of sense-experiences, as Hume did (p. 198). It is admitted that a sense-experience, which forms part of the sense-history of one self, does not occur in the sense-history of another self (p. 194). That is, all sense-experiences are subjective, and so must also be the sense-contents, because a sense-content is only a part of a sense-experience.

A curious result follows from this. As one is acquainted only with one's own sense-experiences, and cannot by any means have the sense-experiences of another self one must, it would seem, always remain solipsist. Mr. Ayer thinks that he can very well get out of solipsism, because from the peculiar behaviour of certain sense-contents (which form the bodies of other people) he can be reasonably led to believe in the existence of other persons. Are we then to suppose that other selves are constructions out of sense-contents as material things are ? We thought selves were constructed out of sense-experiences and as the experiences of other people are not available to us, we should be unable to construct them. We can construct only one-self, which is our own, because the material (our own sense-experiences) for such construction is available to us. When for the lack of material the construction of other selves cannot take place, and if selves are nothing but constuctions, we seem to be driven to the conclusion that other selves should not exist for us. We may be told that logical construction is not actual making, and that when it is said that the self is a logical construction what is meant is that to speak of a self is to say something of sense-experiences. But since the only sense-experiences available to me are those that are mine, is it not plain that for us to speak of other selves is to say something about my own sense-experiences ? I cannot distinguish this position from solipsism.

However I feel that the whole discussion about solipsism should be, from Mr. Ayer's point of view, quite pointless. Solipsism is significant only for a person to whom the self is a priminary certainty. If the self has a completely intelligible meaning for me to start with, then and then only is it possible for me to think of everything else as a state or part of the self. This is not the position of Mr. Ayer. He understands the meaning of the self in terms of sense-experiences, because the self for him is a logical construction out of them. It is sense-experience that has primary meaning for him. He does not think it necessary that a sense-experience should be owned or appropriated by a self in order to be intelligible. There may very well be the sense-experiences of various kinds and of any number ; and so there should be no difficulty to construct any number of selves out of them. It is true that he says that the sense-experiences which belong to one self cannot belong to another. But this does not mean that a self has a peculiar access to certain sense-experiences which it does not have in regard to others. It merely means, or at least should mean that the sense-experiences which fall in one group do not fall in another. From this I do not see how any question of solipsism can arise at all.

From what we have already learnt about Mr. Ayer's line of thinking we may well understand why he cannot concede any objective meaning to our ethical judgments. The ethical attribute of an act is not surely apprehended through any of our senses, and when all our judgments are supposed to derive their meaning from sense-experience, we can easily see how the ethical attribute can never fall within the literal significance of any judgment. Really speaking there are no ethical judgments and our ethical terms have no factual content. When we say 'you acted wrongly in stealing that money,' it is as if we merely said ' you stole that money ' but in a peaculiar tone. Our so-called ethical judgments then are no judgments, but mere ejaculations which may express certain feelings in our mind, but do not assert them. It is in this way that Mr. Ayer distinguishes his position from that of the subjectivist. The subjectivist does not say that an ethical judgment makes no assertion at all, but he only says that the assertion is of the pleasure or displeasure of the subject. When I say of an act that it is good, I assert something no doubt, but it is not some peculiar non-empirical quality called goodness that is asserted, but only the empirical fact of my being pleased with the act. This is the subjectivist view. Mr. Ayer disagrees with it and for the sufficient reason that to say of an act that it is not good but pleasant involves no self-contradiction. According to Mr. Ayer, when I say of an act that it is good, I am not asserting something about the act or about anything else. My saying that it is good is like uttering a cry which may express some feeling, but does not amount to a proposition which makes an assertion. I think Mr. Ayer has here seized a very important point of distinction, and what he says is very proper from his point of view. But whether it is true to our moral experience is another matter.

He does not find any meaning in the term God also. But he says he does not favour atheism too, because the statement ' God does not exist ' is equally meaningless for him. He makes another interesting point. In saying that statements about God have no intelligible meaning, he thinks he is saying no more than what many theists themselves admit, according to whom God transcends all human understanding. But inspite of all the support he claims from theists, the unassertive atheism of Mr. Ayer will be, I think, quite plainly seen.

Mr. Ayer has also given his definitive solutions of outstanding philosophical disputes ! In his opinion the existence of different schools or parties within philosophy is quite unwarranted (p. 209). Because the questions with which philosophy is properly concerned are purely logical questions, the dispute about them can always be settled with sufficient care and scrutiny. It does not occur to Mr. Ayer that disputes about logical matters even may be quite endless and that with regard to the very conception of logic itself people may not, and indeed do not, agree. I am sure that the linguistic conception of logic, which Mr. Ayer advocates will not be accepted by many competent logicians.

So Mr. Ayer innocently proceeds to give final solutions of philosophical questions. He has tried to settle three main disputes, namely, those of empiricism and rationalism, realism and idealism, and monism and pluralism. Let us here refer to only one of them, the dispute between realism and idealism.

The main philosophical question here is, what is entailed by sentences of the form x is real? The idealists following Berkeley assert that to say that x is real or x exists is to say that x is perceived, so that it is a self-contradiction to say that x exists unperceived. They further maintain that to say that x is perceived is to say that x is mental. So the conclusion is that everything that exists is mental. The realists object to all these assertions, and they point out that Berkeley was wrong in maintaining that a sensible quality could not exist unsensed. His mistake was due to a faulty analysis of sensation which overlooked the distinction between the object sensed and the act of consciousness directed upon it. Mr. Ayer judges that this criticism is unjust, inasmuch as the act is quite mythical, because inaccessible to observation, and the so-called object should rather be conceived as a content of sense which of course cannot occur without being experienced. The idealists are therefore here right when they say that sense-contents cannot exist unsensed. But even though material things are constituted by sense-contents (p. 223), they are wrong in maintaining that material things cannot exist unperceived. Because a material thing is not a sum or an aggregate of sense-contents, but only a logical construction out of them. The realists are here right. When we have thus conceded the partial validity of their respective claims, we may hope that both realists and idealists will compose their quarrel for good. It remains to be seen whether the actual disputants themselves will accept our judgment as being a final and reasonable settlement of their ancient dispute.

Mr. Ayer writes with evident enthusiasm and conviction. There is vigour as well as clarity in his style. He has also displayed a good deal of ingenuity and subtlety in his arguments. But still we feel a certain lack of depth in his pronouncements. He does not seem to realise fully the profound significance which the philosophical problems have for certain minds.

Russell, in a review of Mr. Ayer's book, has referred to the trend of thought represented by it as the youngest and most vigorous offspring of the marriage of empiricism and mathematical logic which took place at the beginning of the present century. If we are allowed to judge of the marriage from the character of its issue, the marriage was, in our view, anything but legitimate. Apart from metaphor, we find it difficult to unite logic with empiricism. If sense-experience is the only source of knowledge and the ultimate court of appeal in a dispute about meaning, as empiricism would have it, we fail to see how we can grant even the possibility of the science of logic. The concept of logic cannot arise from sense-experience. No dispute about logic can be settled by an appeal to sense. The logical principles have to be developed, if from anywhere at all, out of the depth of our own consciousness, and empiricism, I suppose, cannot allow any such source of knowledge If logic does anything, it considers judgments or propositions and their relations. Since these entities are not given by sense-experience, to discover and judge them we have to rise to a level of consciousness to which those who have chosen to confine themselves to sense-experience cannot possibly rise. Consistency would demand that they should reject logic along with metaphysics. And in fact they do deny logic, although they do not say so plainly. When they reject the very concept of truth, with which logic is commonly supposed to be specially concerned, and regard logical principles as matters of linguistic convention, they have rejected, so it seems, everything of logic but its name.

FIRDAUSI

MD. ALI SHIRAJI

FIRDUSI, is exceptionally the luckiest of all the poets of Iran ; he has even surpassed Umar Khayyam, in fame. In his life-time the world sympathised with his misfortune and the proof of universal sympathy had so much affected him that he died, perhaps, with content. When Sultan Mahmud's anger later on had been pacified and when he gave full reparation—this change, however, came too late—" Firdausi was a broken and decripit old man and had retired to Tus and while wandering through the streets of his native town heard a child lisping a verse from his own satire. It was

> " If a king had a king for his father
> He would have placed on my head a golden crown."

After thousand years of his death, only in the last October the Government and the people of his own country celebrated his millenary in a most befitting manner wherein had assembled scholars from all parts of the world.

The other nations too had their celebrations in their own countries and Firdausi has thus received a world-wide reputation and honour, which no other poet did enjoy.

Men are born to die, but Firdausi died to live again an everlasting life. His full name was Abul Kasim Mansur (or Hassan according to Daulat Shah) and the author of the great Epic Poem ' Shah Nameh ' or Book of Kings, a complete history of Iran in nearly 60,000 verses, was born at Shadab, a suburb of Tus, about the year 329 of the Hijra (A.D. 941) or earlier.

His early education began when he was 6 years of age. He was exceptionally talented and made rapid progress in his studies. Poetry was inborn in him and when still young he had already acquired, with success, the art of writing Persian verse.

Firdausi was profoundly versed in Arabic language and literature and studied thoroughly the Pehlavi or Old Persian and was well acquainted with the ancient historical records which existed in that tongue.

While living with his father, Ishak Sherif Shah who worked as a gardener under the domain of the Governor of Tus, it pleases our imagination to picture the future great national poet of Iran, sitting at the brim of the stream, contemplating on his Shah Nameh, but his spirit getting depressed and sad at the constant overflow of the stream, by which his native town suffered. It was his ambition to construct a dyke for his native town of Tus, a project which had been the chief dream of his childhood.

Jami, in his book called Baharistan, states that he and his brother Mahsud were originally husbandmen, and the persecution of a malicious enemy drove the poet from his native place. He immediately set out alone and unfriended on his way to Gazni. When he reached the vicinity of the capital, he passed near a garden where Unsuri, Usjudi and Farrukhi, the celebrated poets of the court of Sultan Mahmud, were sitting and drinking wine. Seeing the stranger approach, they thought to get rid of Firdausi in order that he may not spoil their pleasure. When Firdausi drew near mutual salutations having passed between them the poets hit upon a plan to overcome him by some stroke of learning and waggery. Therefore they thus familiarly addressed him, " Here we are all engaged in making extemporaneous verses, and whoever is able to follow them with promptitude and effect, shall be admitted as an approved companion to our social board." Firdausi agreed to submit to this test, and Unsuri thus commenced upon an apostrophe to a beautiful woman.

" The light of the moon to thy splendour is weak."

چون عارض تو ماه نباشد روشن

Farrukhi rejoined :

" The Rose is eclipsed by the bloom of thy cheek."

مانند رخت گل نبود در گلشن

Then Usjudi added :

" Thy eyelashes dart through the folds of the joshun (armour).

مژگانت همي گذر کند از جوشن

It was now Firdausi's turn ; and he without a moment's pause but with admirable felicity replied:

Like the Javelin of Giw in the battle of Pushun."

مانند سنان گیو در جنگ پشن

The poets were astonished at the readiness of the stranger and being totally ignorant of the story of Giw and Poshun, inquired of him about it. Thus Firdausi got his first introduction to Sultan Mahmud's court.

At his first introduction to the great king he requested the poet to compose some verses in his presence, and Firdausi instantly pronounced the following :—

" The cradled infant, whose sweet lips are wet
Balmy with milk from its own mother's breast
Lisps first the name of Mahmud."

The king was extremely delighted and said " you have made our assembly a paradise." Thus the poet adopted his nom-de-plume as " Firdausi."

Animated by this proof of literary taste at the court, he commenced upon the story of the battles of Isfendyar and Rustem and presented this poem to Sultan Mahmud. He regarded this production with admiration and delight and appointed him to complete the Shahnama, and ordered his Chief Minister Ahmed Mymundi to pay him a miskals (gold coin) for every distich.

The minister offered to pay the sum as the work went on, but Firdausi preferred waiting and receiving the whole sum at once after the completion of his work, because he had long indulged the hope of being able to do something of importance for the benefit of his native country. Firdausi began the Shah Nama when he was young and toiled for thirty years and finished the Shah Nama in 60,000 verses when he became old.

The poet's high position had created enemies who tried to injure him. Instead of the promised 60,000 miskals (gold coin) 60,000 dirhams (silver coins) was sent to him, at a time when he was at a public bath on the eve of his departure from Ghazni. This had sorely offended him, and he was so much enraged at the insult offered to him, that on the spot he gave 20,000 to the keeper of the bath, 20,000 to the Fuqqah-seller (seller of beer) and 20,000 to the slave who brought them. " The Sultan shall know," said he, " that I did not bestow the labour of thirty years on a work, to be rewarded with dirhams and I did not do it for the sake of money only."

In order to escape the wrath of the monarch, he instantly fled to Mazinderan and afterwards took refuge in Bagdad where he was in high favour with Kalif-al-Kadir Billah.

Before he left Ghazni he obtained from the Librarian of Mahmud the copy of the Shahnama which he had presented to the king and wrote, in his famous satire, with all bitterness of reproach, which insulted merit could device.

I quote a few lines of the satire :

If the king had a king for his father
He would have placed a jewelled crown on my head
If the mother of the king had been a queen
I would have gold and silver equal to my wrist,
As greatness was not to be found in his family
He was therefore unable to hear the praise of greatmen.

When Mahmud at length became acquainted with the falsehood and treachery of the Vazir whose cruel persecution of the unoffending poet had involved the character and reputation of his court in disgrace, his indignation appeared to be extreme and the favourite minister was banished for ever from his presence. Mahmud repented and was anxious to make all the reparation in his power for the injustice he had been guilty of and immediately despatched a present of 60,000 Miskals (gold coin) and a robe of state with many apologies for his mistake. But Firdausi did not live to be satisfied by this consoling acknowledgment.

Daulat Shah, however states that Mahmud in one his twelve expeditions to India, hearing his minister repeat a passage of the Shahnama, descriptive of his situation at the time, was strongly reminded of Firdausi and recollected with regret, the injustice he had done the poet and enquired about him. He was told that Firdausi now very old and infirm, was living obscurely at Tus. He instantly ordered a present worthy of the poet and himself to be despatched to him ; but when Mahmud's present reached the gate of Tus, the body of Firdausi was being conveyed through the same gate to be buried. When the present was carried to his surviving daughter she refused to receive it and said "what have I to do now with the wealth of the kings."

Whatever might have been the fault of the minister, the conduct of Mahmud appears to have been, in the highest degree, inconsiderate and cruel. He must have been fully aware that silver coins had been sent instead of gold and it was unworthy of the conqueror of the world to be flattered and cajoled into petty resentment against the man who had immortalized the exploits of so many ancient heroes, and who, in the opening verses of the poems had done honour to his name. The present of 60,000 gold coins which he afterwards sent to the poet seems to prove that he felt some stings of conscience and that he wished to emerge from the disgrace which attached to him, as a patron of literature from so dishonourable a transaction.

Firdausi died in the year 411 A. H. (1020 A.D.) at about the age of 80 eleven years after his great work and was buried in a garden of his native place. The chief Sheik of Tus, Abul Qasin Jurjan, first refused to read the usual prayer because he glorified fire-worshippers. But after the dream in which he saw Firdausi in paradise dressed in sacred robe and wearing emerald crown, he reconsidered his determination.

Shahnama of Firdausi is in all probability the only example of a poem produced by a single author which at once took its place as the national epic of the people. During the reign of Anushirawn (the contemporary of the Prophet Mahamed) an attempt was made and continued by his successors to collect from the various parts of the kingdom all the popular tales and legends relating to the ancient kings and the results were deposited in the royal library. During the last year of the Sassauid dynasty the work was resumed ; the former collection was revised and greatly added by Dihkan Danishirar's Khodianama (in old dialect means book of kings).

After the Arab invasion there was violent suppression of Persian language and literature for centuries and this work was in great danger of being perished, but in the 2nd century of the Hijra, it was paraphrased in Arabic by Abdulla-ibn-el-Mokaffa, a learned Iranian convert to Islam ; other Guebres (fire-worshippers) were also occupied privately collecting these traditions. At the time of Yaqab-ibn-Laith, the founder of the Saffarid dynasty, who threw off has allegiance to the Caliphate, at once set about freely circulating the work of his illustrious predecessors. His Book of Kings was complete in the year 260 of the Hijra and was greatly circulated in Khorasan and Iraq. The Samanide Kings equally applied themselves to this work, and Prince Nuth II in 365 A. H. (A.D. 976), entrusted it to the court poet Dakiki, a fire-worshipper by religion. Nothing could be done and his work was brought to a sudden stop by his assassination and all of the Samanian House. Then came Ghaznavides. Mahmood Ibn Sabaktagin collected a vast amount of materials for the work but searched in vain to find a man of sufficient learning and ability to edit them, till he found Firdausi. The Shahnama is really a history in rhyme. It not only teaches the achievements of the ancient kings of Iran, but also creates a national feeling of Iranians against the ill treatment of the Arabs as conqueror. It also comprises the annals from Kaimurs down to the invasion and conquest of that empire by the Saracens in 636 a period of about more than 3,600 years. It is really considered to be one of the finest productions of the kind which oriental or rather Mohamedan nations can boast of. The general character of Persian composition is well known to be full of ornament and inflation of style, but the language of Firdausi is very simple and possesses a greater portion of the energy and grace of the English poets than has been commonly admitted ; his verses are smooth and flowing and uninterrupted by inverted and harsh forms of construction. He is the sweetest as well as the most sublime poet of Iran, in epic grandeur he is above all. Firdausi has been rightly called the Homer of the East, like Homer too he describes a rude age, when personal strength and ferocious courage were chiefly valued. Rustem the principal hero of Shahnama, born during the reign of Manuchiher, has been generally called the Iranian Hercules and in bravery and power the two heroes present many points of resemblance.

Regarding this great work Firdausi himself says

> " Lofty constructions all ruined through rains and the blazing ray
> of the sun
> But I have laid the foundation of my proud edifice on poetry
> which neither wind or rain can effect the least."

بنا های آباد گردد خراب * زباران وزتابش آفتاب
پی افکندم از نظم کاخی بلند * که از باد و باران نیابد گزند

How well His Excellency the Governor of Bengal has depicted Firdausi in the message which he sent to the Firdausi Millenary celebration recently held in Calcutta under the auspices of the Calcutta Mahomedan Literary Society.

"Men such as he are benefactors of civilization, for their works not only enshrine the ancient history, legends and tradition of great nations, which might otherwise be lost in oblivion, but enrich the cultural life of all nation."

Firdausi commands the world's respect to-day not only for his genius as a poet but for the uprightness and unselfishness of his personal character and is rightly held in honour and esteem far beyond the boundaries of his own country.[1]

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[1] **Read before the Poetry Society, Calcutta Branch.**

BRADLEY'S THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE.

DHIRENDRALAL DAS, M.A.

I

FEELING, according to Bradley, is the primeval cognitive stage; it is undifferentiated non-relational pure experience. It will be our business in this paper to sketch Bradley's view of the origin and development of thought-differentiations out of primeval blurred feeling.

THE INCONSTANCY OF FEELING.

Feeling is unstable and fluctuating. Our presentations are always in a state of flux. They always evaporate in our hands. "We hardly possess it as more than that which we are in the act of losing." (*A. & R.*, p. 160.) It is difficult for any one sensation to stand steadfast even for the tiniest fraction of a second. No sooner has it come than either its successor appears to turn it out, or it becomes other than what it has been. "Let us take," says Bergson, "the most stable of internal states, the visual perception of a motionless external object. The object may remain the same, I may look at it from the same side, at the same angle, in the same light, nevertheless the vision I now have of it differs from what I have just had...............[*Creative Evolution*, p. 2.][1]

These changes of feeling from moment to moment make it perfectly plain that there is discrepancy between existence and content.

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[1] Here it may be objected that Bradley emphatically denies that sensations are discrete at the earliest stage; in fact, he says there are no *feelings* but *feeling*. Moreover, he denies that there is any knowledge of change at that stage. [*Mind*, 1887, p. 36.] In reply to this objection it may be said that the distinction that Bradley draws between differences felt and differences discriminated should not be lost sight of. "Suppose," says he, "that for an outside observer sensations as a series, or a collection of series, happened in the mind, yet for that at the outset, the sensation and succession could not as such exist. If the whole were not unbroken, it could not at least so be given to a feeble mind, because the machinery required for the perception of succession and of relations in general, is not yet at work......" The undoubted implication of the above is that differences, changes, multiplicity are there, but they are not thought out as such. In other words sensations or feelings are incessantly floating across the mind, and that they do so appear when the reflective process starts or, in other words, where an attempt at the understanding of the aboriginal experiences is made.

inside immediate experience. Take, for example, the visual awareness of a rose in a nosegay. The sensation of red changes. Now what is involved in this awareness of red ? Firstly, it is existence,—to use the language of ancient Greek philosophy, it is matter. Secondly, there is the quality or the form which distinguishes it endowing it with a unique character. When, therefore, I say that the red of the present moment is a change from the red of the earlier moment, it is meant that the *that* of the red is wedded now to one and the next moment to another kind of *what*, or, in other words, the existence cannot hold the form or quality permanently ' within its precincts.'

The discordance inside the feeling may be brought out in anotehr way. The content immediately presented is not bare and cold, but has always an affective colour. The manifold that emerges at the beginning feels pleasure and pain, expands and contracts. It is felt as in agreement and disagreement with the form of unity whithin which it takes its rise. And the affective hue that attaches to the presentation is most fluctuating, fleeting, and does not rest itself on any content in any fixed manner for any length of time.

WHAT THE DISCREPANCY OF FEELING LEADS TO.

This inner unrest of feeling leads to its disruption. The incapacity of the *this* of feeling or the immediate existence to own the affective colour that flits and flickers results in the wandering away of the latter to some outside point of reference. In other words, the change in the content or the continuous reshuffling of the contents of the feeling necessitates their reference to something beyond that which determines them. And this self-transcendence of feeling marks the birth-date of ideality. Take, for example, the incessant mutation of the pleasurable feeling consequent upon my seeing the picture of the Madonna. Now these changes which by their nature are in a state of unrest demand an explanation by means of reference to something other than themselves. We are thus obliged to introduce determinations in the form of Subject-Predicate characterisation. We are to say, for instance, that the picture is pleasant because of this particular expression that is in the face ; it is attractive because of the glow suffusing it, and so on. Here are Conception and Thought. When

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[1] *Mind*, No. 47.—Association and Thought

the feeling-content is conceived and distinctly attributed to an outside point of reference, it loses its warmth and immediacy and becomes ideal.

Or, let us take the example of red given before. The mind cannot rest with the changes of the experience of red, which are ephemeral in nature. So there is felt the necessity of fastening the changes on concepts and making such assertions as the following:—the red that I saw in the earlier moment was bright but inconstant, and the red that I saw the next moment was less bright but clear, and so on.

The multiplicity that lies in feeling is inarticulate and something nebulous. This in itself is not sufficient to afford cognition. The cognitive process commences only when relations are set up between the congested elements and it becomes possible to take up a view-point outside them; in other words, when the shifting immediate experiences are set in a definite perspective.

The cognitive development, to put the same thing in a different way, proceeds from the indeterminate to the determinate by the construction of more and more definite forms. The 'given,' the *this*, apart from the constructions of the modes of apprehension is the twilight experience waiting to be clarified in the clear consciousness of the wakeful morning. The chief of these constructive forms are (1) Substance-quality, subject-object, (2) Time, (3) Space, (4) Causation, (5) Good and Evil.

II

That and What.

All the diverse modes of conceptualisation may be described as the distinction of *that* and *what*. This point requires elucidation before we explain the above forms separately.

Our immediate experience, however undetermined and blurred it may be, is not to be equated with the sensation of psychology which is said to be characterless, brute and blind. By saying that there is no determination at the immediate stage what is meant is that the characteristics which the experience possesses are inextricably bound up

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[3] This may sound remarkably Kantian. Below we discuss the relation between Bradley and Kant.

with its existence; the contents inside the immediate experience are intuited but not intelligised.

There are two aspects, existence and quality, *that* and *what*, matter and form, in every experience.[1] That it is so will appear from the fact of change which is characteristic of psychic states. If over and above there being quantitative multiplicity there had not been at the same time a qualitative multiplicity, there would have been no change in the proper sense; for the mere passage of many things, none having anything beyond the immediacy of that or existence, is bound to be felt as a pure blank. Then the affective transmutations that the psychic contents are undergoing are the effects of the clash and the consonance that are impossible without the qualitative diversity of the mental existence. The blend of two particular colours gives pleasure only because each colour has in it a unique characteristic which will harmonise with that of the other. If again a particular experience thwarts or furthers, it is because it has such character as impedes or facilitates. These are commonplaces of Psychology. The distinction, it must however be borne in mind, is not made at the stage of immediacy.

At the first moment of your hearing a melody you enjoy an individual experience, and that individuality is constituted by the whatness of the immediate 'that.' But so far as you are within the felt stage, there is no determinate awareness in which the character of the melody is understood in distinction from its existence; in other words, the pure enjoyment of melody is entirely different from its being conceived as being of such and such theme or of such and such tune and metre. These determinations are not isolated and cognised, though resident in the theme sung and enjoyed. They give the experience the richness which, though amorphous, is still there. This is meant by saying "differences work.........but are not discriminated."

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[1] When we reflect upon any psychical fact, we may distinguish within it two very different aspects. There is in the first place, the fact that it does happen, that it is a genuine psychical occurrence, the existence of the psychical fact in question.

Then there is also the peculiar character or quality which endows the psychical incident with the unique nature which distinguishes it from any other which might conceivably have been presented in its stead, the contents or what of the psychical event. Thus a simple colour sensation, say that of green,' has its *that*—it is actually present, and is thus distinguished from a merely remembered or anticipated sensation. But it has its *what* as well—the peculiar quality by which it is distinguished, for example, from the sensation of blue (Taylor, *Elements of Metaphysics*, pp. 30-31.) The above is merely the elaboration of the following lines of Bradley. " If we take up anything considered real (the real is sentience), no matter what it is, we find in it two aspects. There are always two things we can say about it; and if we cannot. cannot, say both, we have not got reality. There is a *what* and a *that*, content and existence, and the two are inseparable.

DIVISION OF 'THAT' AND 'WHAT.'

It is not until thought develops that discrimination takes place. And with the development of thought what in feeling remains one integral experience becomes pulverised into existence and content (we have noted above that it is the instability of feeling that necessitates such pulverisation). Thought consists essentially in the division of existence and content. Thought is ideality: it operates by means of ideals. And idea implies the separation of 'what' from 'that' what exactly is the difference between my idea of the orange and my feeling or experience of it ? The associationist psychologists did not differentiate between idea and experience. To them an idea was no more than a remembered sensation or the copy of a sensation. My idea of the orange, Hume would say, is the impression left by my previous experience and the contents of both are same, with the simple difference that the revived impression is less vivid than the original experience. The associationist view of idea proves unsatisfactory when we verify it by means of concrete cases of ideation. And modern psychologists like Stout and McDougall have refuted the associationist theory by showing that the interpretation the associationists offer is highly artificial and is based rather on the necessity of their general standpoint than on a revelation of fact.

In my idea of, say, the University of Dacca the only image that I possibly roughly have is that of the white Central Building. But the University is much more than the Central Building and my idea of the University cannot be equated with the image that I possess. I am perfectly certain that my idea is fuller than the fragmentary image and conveys to me all that the University stands for. Even if one is a visualiser *par excellence*, one's knowledge of the University cannot be exhausted by images ; for there are aspects of the University which cannot be imaged at all, *e.g.*, the corporate life of the University, the tutorial system of the University, the peculiar atmosphere and the like. These are elements of one's awareness which are too elusive to admit of imagination.

We are therefore bound to admit another element in idea besides image. That is *meaning*. Idea is the tiniest image that *means* the whole object. My idea of the University is the image of the Central Building which *means* the entire corporation with the various aspects that have revealed themselves to me. Even if the image element were more fragmentary in character,—had my image been no more than the northern wing of the building, the University idea would not have been any the poorer. For it is the meaning that makes the idea what it is. The image, according to Stout, is only one element of the idea. The other or more important element is the meaning which the image communicates. When one thinks of the Duke of Wellington, the image that one possesses is only the pale outline of an aquiline nose. But this, of course, is not one's idea of the Duke. The idea depends on the cumulative result of many complex mental processes. If one had been thinking of some other person with the same characteristic nose, the ideal content would have been very different. The same image might stand for very different things (Stout's *Manual of Psychology*, pp. 529-30).

Let us illustrate this point a little more. Take, for example, your idea of wealth. It is very unlikely that you will have any images as constituents of the idea. Even if you have, you may not find any other person having the same images, although there might be quite an agreement with regard to what is understood by the term wealth. Then, the image or images that one may possess are too inadequate to refer to the object meant. One may have the image of a Rolls Royce, another of a splendidly furnished drawing-room. But how very small an item of wealth either of the images is ! Both the persons, however, in spite of the difference in the image content, have the common point of reference. But to persons who have no idea of wealth, these very images may stand for quite different concepts,—the image of a Rolls Royce may serve for the idea of motor car.

Now, the different images meaning the same idea, the smallest image material sufficing for a complex general idea, lastly the same image in different persons standing for different ideas, merely go to prove that in the constitution of the idea there is a second something which, though rooted in the being of the image, points away from it and, going out of it, invests it (image) with an intricacy and richness of import which it (image) does not possess in itself. This something is the *meaning* that overlaps the ' that ' or existence of the psychic content.

Thought, operating as it does by means of ideas, works by means of meanings, and not images as the associationists or, more correctly, the sensationists urge. Judgment in which thought appears in its completeness is not a connection between psychic contents, a predication of one particular of another. It is a connection between meanings which are universals. That it is so will be seen from the fact that all judgments have a truth-claim—a judgment is liable to be true or false. But this becomes impossible if the meaning or idea is not the essence of the judgmental process. When I say, for example, 'wealth satisfies,' there would be no question of truth or falsity if the judgment were merely a combination of sensations or images, if, in other words, it were a psychic relation between the image of wealth and the feeling of satisfaction. In that case, being a psychic connection of psychic phenomena, the whole would be a factual complex and as such would be neither true nor false. A fact is neither true nor false, it merely *is*. Only my idea or meaning is either true or false. The Sun's rays, for example, are merely out there; it would not mean anything to say that in themselves they may be either true or false.

Now, if the statement 'Wealth Satisfies,' is to be a judgment in the right sense of the term, that is, if it is to possess a right to truth or falsity, the whole thing must be taken as a meaning complex which by its very nature must transcend sentience and refer beyond it. And in this reference beyond originates the possibility of truth or error. Wealth and satisfaction are my ideas, *i.e.*, meanings, and as such refer beyond themselves to a self-existent order. The soul of the judgment consists in these meanings or the conjunction of meanings reaching out to a self-existent system of reality. The truth or falsity of the judgment arises from the appropriateness or otherwise of the reference beyond, which appropriateness or otherwise is dependent upon the aptness or otherwise of the conjunction of contents effected within the judgment. The judgment, 'Wealth Satisfies,' is admitted on all hands to be untrue, because the connection of the ideational contents, satisfaction and wealth, *has* been arbitrary. The connection made finds no home when it carries itself away.

That the terms in judgment are not identical with image or particular existence will be clear from the following considerations. In the judgment, 'the whale is a mammal' it is not my mammal image that qualifies the real whale. When I ask, Is it true that the whale is a mammal ? I do not want to ascertain if the image that is within 'my head' gets stuck properly at the thing whale. For it is absurd that there can be any juxtaposition of these two. Even if this were possible, that juxtaposition would not have come within the purview of thought, admitting of truth and error. On the contrary, judgment means that the connection of two contents, the whaleness and mammalness, both of which are a-psychical in character rightly belongs to an abiding order of reality.

The question, Do you believe in the idea of mammal, will at once show that the inquiry is not made about the psychical fact, mammal-image, but rather about the possibility of the system of things being qualified by the universal mammal content, which is a logical, and not a psychological element. In all judgments, therefore, the ascription is always of a meaning, not of an image, to the universe of discourse. The surrounding objects are illumined not by the lamp which is as good an object as they are, but by the light that the lamp shoots. Similarly, the cognitive halo that the image emits, exceeding, as it does, the physical bounds of the image, is the stuff of which thought or judgment is constituted. Just as light and lamp are fundamentally different in character, one being energy and another matter, so the image and meaning are essentially unlike each other, the one being a fact, the other an adjective of fact. But in the aboriginal experience the two are inextricably mixed up. And as long as they are so blended, there is only experience or feeling, no judgment or thought or reflection.

Idea develops, and with it the function of thought, when the unity of *that* and *what* image and meaning, is ruptured. Idea is the what loosened from the that, the meaning abstracted from sentience. " An idea is any part of the content of a fact so far as that works out of immediate unity with its existence......The main point and the essence is that some feature in the what of a given fact should be alienated from its that so far as to work beyond it or at all events lose from it. Such a movement is ideality and where it is absent there is nothing ideal." [*A and R*, p. 163]. The estrangement of meaning from psychical existence may be illustrated in the following way. Take, for example, my experience of an orange. The pure experience of the orange (if at all possible) is undifferentiated. In this, there has not yet arisen the duality of the experiencer and the experienced, subject and object, so that the orange cannot be thought as being of this or that character. It is an experience of a peculiar tone and hue, but its peculiarity is yet to be reflected in thought and intellectually grasped. The colour, shape, odour, feel, all form one undivided unity with the thing that is, and they, by their singular integration, endow the experience with an individuality and uniqueness. The experience is, therefore, rich and palpitating with life.

Next, there is the threshing of the form out of the form-matter integration which is experience. In the above example of orange, when I think of the complex mental state which is my feeling or sensation of orange, the various qualities which constitute its unique character get distinguished and are converted into concepts like yellow, sweet, soft. At the beginning, these were felt differences and in the unity and the wholeness of the original feeling, they had no name or limitation. Thought arises to destroy the unity and literally estranges them from the immediacy of their being. They lose their feeling character and cease to become experiences.

The experience of colour and the conception of colour are entirely different.. One is an element inside the total experience, and the other, a general name of a living thing. The name has got loosened from the body of the whole. experience and is nothing more than a static picture of of a dynamic reality. The ideas or concepts, that is, the characters thought has discriminated out of the intuitional setting are attributed to the 'that' of the thing. I isolate, for example, the character of sweetness from the whole sensation of orange by means of the faculty of understanding and then refer back the general character or concept to the object and say 'the orange is sweet.'

The mind, as we have noted, cannot rest content with a blur, sub-relational many in one. It must, by means of the thinking apparatus try to illumine and analyse the blur and understand all the elements in relation to one another. All kinds of thought differentiations, when examined, are found to be the separation of 'what' from 'that,' content from existence. All the categories of understanding, all forms of cognition, represent this process of differentiation.

Various thought discriminations.

The first act of thought is the subject-object differentiation. This may be simply stated as the emergence of an other to the mind. Experience is independent of the distinction of self and not-self. It merely is—it is given. The pure experience of a piece of paper is not my experience of paper—here I am the paper. " The first time the child sees the light, it is the light." Now, what happens when he has the knowledge of a luminous object, that is, when he is aware of something there ? The not-self arises of only when the various qualities coalescing in the original sense perception are thought out and distinguished. Objectification depends upon thought's ability to say, this is white, smooth and soft. An object without qualification and the relations between the qualities brought out is impossible. Whenever you are aware of an object, you think of the experience in terms of the attributes which, when thought, are universal meanings and not individual feeling-pieces. Self, which is the correlate of not-self is as much an ideal construction as not-self. Self is no existence, it is a conception. At this moment I am looking at the page opened before me. I not only cognise the contents of the page, but also myself as trying to follow the contents treated herein. Now, this cognised self, like the not-self, is no more or no less than an aggregation of universals, none of which are individual existences.

Take, again, the causal distinction. Here also it is no more than a marriage of universals. The successive mental states that flit across the theatre of mind form the basis of causal conception. But so long as there are pure psychic states in succession, one is not a cause, and another an effect, one antecedent and another consequent. Cause and effect are the results of the operatian of thought which starts through the medium of ideas. Suppose, I have an experience of a pin-prick being succeeded by a twinge of pain. When the feeling-stage is passed and the judgment made that the pin-prick causes pain, the pin-prick and pain that have been individual experiences are at once transformed into ideas. The pin-prick of the judgment is not the pin-prick to which I have been subjected, nor is the pain the same as I have felt as wholly ' this and mine.' On the contrary, they are general notions as opposed to particular occurrences of my sentience, they are universally applicable to the sentient world, not to any part of any individual sentience. This universality is the outcome of the divorce of the quality of pin-prick and pain from their psychic existence. Thus divorced they, shorn of psychic character, apply to all pin-pricks and pains throughout the sentient world. In other words, thought having mediated the unique experience and isolated the what from the ' that ' has fixed between the isolated characters a relation of succession or causation. The relation is nothing other than a thought construction. It is nowhere in reality, or experience. Hume uttered a great truth when he denied causation, as a fact causation is a conception relating to ideas referring to living experience.

Similarly it may be shown that other thought differentiations are also idealisations originating in a disruption within the unity of experience.

III

✓ KANT'S THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE.

At this stage of the discussion it is necessary to refer to Kant. To him goes the credit of drawing the distinction between sense-awareness and thought and of ascertaining the respective parts they play in human cognition. The sense-manifold, in the first place, provides the material which is worked up by thought into the wholeness of cognition. The imposition of the categories or forms of thought, such as substance, cause and the like, on the unformed stuff of sense makes knowlege possible.

This transcendental analysis of knowledge as presented by the critical philosopher was a revelation which served as the beacon-light in subsequent epistemological thinking. Whatever improvement the Kantian theory of knowlege might have undergone at the hands of those that followed in the kindered line of thinking, the kernel of their teaching remains Kantian.

Stripped of details, Bradley's epistemology in its essence resembles Kant's. According to both, cognitive process starts with the unformed element of sensation or feeling. This non-relational stuff is held by both to be incapable of affording knowledge. There is knowledge only when it is mediated by thought, *i.e.*, interpreted through the categories and is pervaded by relations. First, there are intuitions. Secondly, the intuitions are conceptualised or categorised. Intuitions give us individual objects which by being conceived and categorised become general and universal. The Kantian morphology is in its fundamentals present in Bradley. Like Kant he also regards knowledge as construction.

But Bradley has also differed from Kant in some important points. With Bradley the primitive feeling is unformed in the sense that the forms are latent therein. Cognition, according to him, arises when the forms that are dormant are brought out. With Kant, on the other hand, the sense-particulars are absolutely unformed, there being no forms therein even in a latent condition. Forms, he holds, are imposed on the brute sentience by intellect. The explanation is to be found in Kant's acceptance and Bradley's rejection of the extra-mental thing-in-itself.

Although in the course of his treatment of knowledge, Kant's view has been beset with difficulties, it seems, nevertheless, that his theory is more intelligible than Bradley's. With Bradley, self is not ultimate (at the beginning, there was no self). It is a 'secondary concept,' so to say, and, like space, time and cause, a later development.

At the beginning there is a feeling-mass which subsequently develops into a relational consciousness. Now, the self being an evolute of the original feeling, besides which there was at first nothing, it is difficult to see how the brute sensa are wrought into knowledge, no self or mind being there to organise the brute data of knowledge. It may be said that feeling by itself grows into organised cognition. But what are we to understand by that ? Does the feeling mass get to think ? If so, how ? It may be said, that out of the inner conflict, relations and categories develop by an inner dialectic. It may be so. But in that case, Bradley should have sketched the dialectic process and shown how the categorised knowledge has developed. He has nowhere done it in his philosophy and has remained satisfied with taking a big leap from feeling right up to the examination of categories without delineating the latter's *raison d'etre*. Bradley has regarded knowledge as construction without accepting the Kantian view that the self or the thinking principle effects the construction by means of the categories.

The difficulty in accepting Bradley's position becomes greater, when one considers the distinction he draws between reality and thought. Feeling or sentience with him is reality. "Sentient experience," he says, "is reality. What is not this is not real......... Find any piece of existence, take up anything that any one could possibly call a fact, or could in any sense assert to have being, and then judge if it does not consist in sentient experience." *A & R*, pp. 144-45.

Now this reality or experience, in which existence and content inseparably inhere, breaks up and is divided. And writes Bradley, "thought seems essentially to consist in their (of existence and content) division." Thought is ideal and with its operation reality passes into ideality. What are we to understand by thoughts dividing the real or experience ?

Are we to understand that the whole experience-mass is presented to thought which does the dividing thereupon, just as Kant's sense manifold are presented to the synthetic unity of apperception. Bradley, of course, cannot mean this. But he vainly tries to get rid of the concept of self as ultimate. As he does not believe in any original principle of dividing and relating, his statement that thought divides is of little meaning. He would have been intelligible if eh had returned to the Kantian view that brute matter becomes thought or cognised by means of the intellect's imposition of forms on it. Without this, the distinction between thought and reality cannot be understood in Bradley's system.

If it is suggested that feeling is neutral in the sense that it is neither subject nor object, and that it breaks up into categories, then Bradley, instead of distinguishing ideality from reality, should have, like Alexander, viewed the categories as pervasive characters of being. But this could not be Bradley's view because of the markedly subjective trend of his philosophy. Bradley's position, therefore, becomes peculiar—he has abolished self without subscribing to realism which such abolition logically leads to.

IV

DIFFICULTY OF THE THEORY OF JUDGMENT.

Bradley's theory of judgment by itself presents a greater difficulty. According to him, in judgment meaning is loosened from the image and is attributed to reality. What then, is reality ? By reality is meant that which appears in perception. It has been stated above that the separation of content from the existence in immediate perception is ideality. And idea is that which is extricated from image. Are we to take image and immediate experience as identical ? Reality or experience in that case resolves itself into a mass of images, and judgment reduces to predicating an idea of an image. This view is little removed from sensationism which Bradley combats.

It may be replied that image is not reality, but the abiding sentience or the presentation continuum is the reality to which the meaning extricated from image is ascribed. Let us see what it comes to. Suppose, there is the presentation of snow. In predicating whiteness of it, from the store of my images I am to seek out those of white things, say of paper, of milk, etc., and isolate to attribute it to the thing 'snow.' This interpretation is good enough. But with Bradley, there is no snow except the experience of snow. This being so, it is difficult to locate the images from which meanings are drawn.

All difficulty has arisen out of Bradley's extreme subjectivism. He fixes his attention exclusively upon one abstract portion of the whole situation involved in the affirmation of whiteness of snow,—the abstract portion, namely, the mind. The concrete cognitive situation is not exhausted by mental events. But he offers us this abstraction as the whole in that he tries to drag in the rest of the situation as in some way not merely indivisibly joined with the first portion but as actually given in, and as a part and parcel of, that portion. Although it is asserted that the predicates of judgment are not mental events, they are, apart from mental events, only *quasi*-contents. If we are to find existence for them, we must go to mental events.

Out of extreme subjectivism, Bradley ignores the concrete knowledge situation and therefore his theory of thought becomes unacceptable.

GERMAN LYRIC POETRY

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THE purpose of this article is to present my readers with a brief sketch of the development, the peculiarity and the tendencies of German lyric poetry. Germany is usually associated in our mind with science and scholarship. Whenever the name of Germany is mentioned we unconsciously think of thorough researches and technical perfection. But outstanding as are the achievements of the Germans in technical fields, no less outstanding are their performances in the field of poetry, thought and art. In philosophical speculation the Germans perhaps easily excel other European nations with a long succession of great and original thinkers. In art, at least in that supremest of all arts, music, Germany again can offer us a list of names such as no other European nation, except perhaps Italy, can boast of.

All this is more or less known. Not so well known is what the Germans have done in the field of poetry. Yet German poetry forms an essential part, if not the basis, of what is understood by "deutsche Kultur." This word evokes in our mind the vision of a civilisation based on discipline, strength, thoroughness, determination, industry and indefatigableness. Something, that is to say, which is grim but vital. The qualities I have mentioned do certainly belong to the German character and have certainly moulded German "Kultur," but they perhaps do not explain the whole of it. Behind the grim exterior of German civilisation and behind the manifold material manifestations of German national life, there is a very soft German ideality, limpid and refreshing like the water of a mountain spring, which thrives in the soul of the German people and finds expression in their lyrical poetry.

We have got to realise this fact if we want to understand Germany. I may be asked, why should we seek this German ideality only in German lyric poetry and not in any other branch of literature? My reply would be, it is because German lyric poetry is a genuine thing, a thing of the soil, not an artificial growth, not an importation, not a thing manufactured according to the rules of rhetoric. German ideality may be active in other branches of literature, but it is truly itself only in German lyric poetry. In epic, didactic, dramatic and fictional literature Germany received the first creative impulse from outside. Even the great philosophers of modern Germany were moved to speculation by the English philosophical writings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. And in music which has now become a German art *par excellence*, the impulse came perhaps from the sacred music of the Catholic church. But German lyric poetry is a thing which is "echt-deutsch." It is a flower with a distinct aroma ; it is a metal without any alloy.

Many of my readers perhaps know the thesis which the celebrated French authoress Madame de Stäel (1766-1817) developed in her book called *De La Littérature*. She divided the literature of Europe into two distinct classes: the literature of the south and the literature of the north. The southern literature is the literature of art and form, based on tradition. The foundations of this tradition are to be sought in the aesthetic ideals of Greek and Latin literature. The progress of poetry, it has been said, is from Greece to Italy and from Italy to England. France, Italy, Spain, Portugal and England have thus a more or less common feature in poetry. England is, of course, a northern country, but her literature cannot be regarded as the true representative of the northern type. The history of English poetry gives me the impression of a constant struggle between the two ideals of the south and of the north. The Anglo-Saxon poetry is undoubtedly northern but it is regarded by English men themselves as an independent literature. The "morning star" of modern English poetry, Chaucer, learnt his craft from themasters of the south. Shakespeare's creations are a break of and a revolt against the southern tradition. In Milton the southern muse again asserts her supremacy. This supremacy continues up to the latter half of the eighteenth century when arises the romantic movement—again a reaction against the southern tradition. In the mid-nineteenth century the classical tradition was again revived by Tennyson and Arnold. Towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century there was one more dissolving period for this tradition and in the post-war period the poetry of T.S. Eliot and others reveal the symptoms of its revival.

Perhaps my generalizations with regard to English poetry are too general and all of my readers may not agree with me. But the fact remains that the southern tradition is very strong in it. But what was the special quality which Madame de Stäel found in German poetry and literature, which she did not find in the poetry and literature of the south ? She calls it "enthusiasm." I would call it the "lyric impulse." After all, the connotations of the two terms, on analysis, overlap each other. They imply intense sentiment or personal feeling.

It is strange to observe how nations often express themselves in a contrary manner. It is the southern people, who are generally regarded to be so voluble and easily moved, that have developed and upheld the classical tradition. It is the men of feeling and eloquence who have advocated the control of passion and reticence in literature. On the contrary, it is the people of the north, who are considered to be so reserved in speech and lacking in warmth of feeling, that make a display of their personality in literature. What is this contrariety due to ? Perhaps Geography and Geology play a part in it. Where the atmosphere is clear, the climate is mild, the sunshine is bright and soft, nature exuberant but not wild, where everything has a distinct place in the landscape and the colours and shapes of each and everything appear with an extraordinary vividness before the eye, man has the tendency to develop the finical spirit and the art-impulse. Where, on the other hand, the atmosphere is offuscated, the climate is unkind, the sunshine is brief and indistinct as moonlight, the landscape is bleak and dreary, nature is poor or wild, and mists and twilight gloom shroud everything, man's vision is turned inward. He has the tendency to become more introspective and subjective. The subjective spirit goes hand in hand with the lyric impulse.

Lyricism is the genuine and natural expression of the genius of the German people. And if the sun, which presents us with the clear form of things, is the symbol of classical poetry, as Carducci the Italian poet says in one of his poems, then the bewitching moon which blurs the outline of things and fills the mind with vague, undefinable sentiments, is the symbol of German poetry. You will be surprised to find how frequently the moon appears in German poetry and literature It comes in at every possible moment, opportune or inopportune. There are perhaps more apostrophes to the moon in this than in any other literature. At least the best of the kind that I know of is in German and by the greatest of the German poets, Goethe.

An den Mond

Füllest wieder Busch und Thal
Stil mit Nebelglanz,
Lösest endlich auch einmal
Meine Seele ganz.

Breitest über mein Gefild
Linderad deinen Blick,
Wie des Freundes Auge mild
Ueber mein Geschick.

The last two stanzas of the poem are as marvellous in their effect as the moonlight itself :

Selig, wer sich vor der Welt
ohne Hass verschliesst
Einen Freund am Busen hält
Und mit dem geniesst,

Was von Menschen nicht gewusst,
Oder nicht bedacht,
Durch das Labyrinth der Brust
Wandelt in der Nacht.

It is the things that pass through the "Labyrinth der Brust" (the labyrinth of the breast) that form the chief subject-matter of German poetry. The heart is the pivot on which it moves. In no other poetry is the subjective element, the personal feeling, the lyric impulse or enthusiasm of Madame de Stäel so prominent. German poetry is therefore considered to be characteristically romantic and the German mind as the prototype of the romantic mind. It is the poetry of immediate inspiration and direct expression ; the antithesis of what is called "literary" poetry.

Not that the Germans have not cultivated "literary" poetry, but in Germany, more than anywhere else, there is a close connection between poetry and music. German lyrics are generally known as "lied" or song and many German musicians have made them the subject of their composition. As a matter of fact German lyrics have more often been written to be sung rather than to be read and understood, and it is this close connection with music that has made German lyric poetry a popular thing and a thing of the people.

In the earliest times, before the Germans were united into a nation and lived separated into different clans, their lyric impulse took the shape of what is known as bardic poetry. Bardic poetry resembles the poetry of the 'charans' of Rajput history, who sang of the past heroism and glory of the nation and supplied inspiration with their recitations at the time of war or whenever the nation needed encouragement for making an uncommon effort. Tacitus, the Latin writer, records in his " Germania" that bardic poems were sung or recited in order to produce enthusiasm when people went to fight. But afterwards, in the formative period of modern German literature, the lyric impulse of the German people was embodied in what is known as *Volkspoesie* or *Volkslieder* (folk-poetry or folk-songs). We have to bear in mind the importance of *Volkspoesie* in German poetry. It is the title given to a collection of poems and songs expressive of the sentiment of the people, their authors being unknown. Such poetry exists in all countries. But German *Volkspoesie* is to be distinguished from the folk-poetry of other countries by this fact that while elsewhere folk-poetry occupies a very low position in national culture, in Germany it is a vital element of her literature. It is not only made by the folk and for the folk, but it has a pre-eminent influence even on the poetry of the lettered men. In all periods of modern German poetry, the poets have made the effort to catch the charm of *Volkspoesie* by adhering to its spirit, sentiment and even metre. Much of the magic of the lyric poetry of Goethe and Heine, to name only the two most eminent lyrists of Germany, is due to their assimilation of the spirit of *Volkspoesie*. And the highest compliment that can be paid to a German lyrist is to compare his poetry with the folk-poetry. It is this pervading influence of *Volkspoesie* on German lyrics which gives them that distinctive aroma of which I have spoken before.

To compare German folk-poetry with the folk-poetry of England is an instructive study. German folk-poetry is generally a thing of the inner life, sentiment being its soul. On the other hand, sentiment is a scarce thing in English folk-poetry which has more action and hence more dramatic quality. The chief aim of English popular minstrels was not to touch the heart of the listeners but to stimulate their sense of action. The characteristic English folk-poetry is, therefore, the ballad in which incidents of national life are narrated with simplicity and force. There are undoubtedly ballads in German folk-poetry, but ballads are not so truly representative of German popular poetry as the Robin Hood and Border ballads are of the popular poetry of England.

German *Volkspoesie* is very vast and covers a wide range;

"Nearly every aspect of human life is represented. There are songs of love and death, of meeting and parting, of Nature and the Seasons, of work and play, and good fellowship. Then there are historical ballads and political and controversial songs. There are also poems founded on the romantic themes invented or handed down from earlier times." (German Lyric Poetry by Norman Macleod.) But it is in the treatment of the theme of love that the unknown writers excel. Here is a characteristic example of German *Volkslieder.*

Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär,'
Und auch zwei Flügel hätt,'
Flög' ich zu dir.
Weil's aber nicht kann sein,
Bleib ich allhier.

Bin ich gleich weit von dir
Bin ich doch im Schlaf bei dir,
Und red' mit dir.
Wenn ich erwachen thu,'
Bin ich allein.

Es vergeht kein' Stund in der Nacht,
Da nicht mein Herz erwacht,
Und an dich gedenkt,
Dass du mir viel tausendmal
Dein Herz geschenkt.

The charm and artlessness of this little gem of a poem is arresting. A tender sentiment expressed as tenderly! It reveals an infantile, pure and "enthusiastic" heart. A lover, who wants to be always near the beloved says that if he were a bird and had wings like it, he would fly to her. But that is not to be. So he is alone when he is awake, but in sleep he is near her and speaks with her. But the trouble is that he cannot sleep, and not a moment passes when he does not think of her. The poem is known all over Germany and Goethe made use of it in Faust (Part I, Wald und Höhle) and said that it is "einzig schön und wahr" (simply beautiful and true). Some of the German folk-poems have been translated into English by Longfellow and Scott (The Battle of Sempach and The Noble Moringer by the latter).

Earlier than the folk-poetry or perhaps side by side with it, there developed, in the same formative period of German poetry, another kind of composition known by the name of Minnesang. The Minnesingers were also poets of the amorous sentiment. Minne in German is an obsolete word for love. But the love of the Minnesingers is different from what we find in folk-poetry. The Minnesingers thrived on a tradition which was not genuinely German, but imported from outside. They are the troubadours of Germany and their poetry has all the merits or demerits of the Provencal troubadours.

In obedience to the chivalrous cult of love, they sing of amorous relations with a married woman, completely like a vassal. But one has to be discreet in declaring love to a married woman. Hence " the binding convention arose that no hint of the actual personality should be given in the song. This naturally opened the door for the celebration of merely hypothetical passions, and the absence of sincerity, directness and spontaneity is generally regarded as the chief weakness of the Minnesang." (John Lees, The German Lyric.) The Minnesang is thus without much poetic quality and can in no way be regarded as expressive of the true German spirit. To the true Teutonic spirit, woman's value is very different from what is given to her by the Minnesingers. Let us again turn to Tacitus for illumination. " The Germans believe," he writes in *Germania,* " that there is something sacred and innate in woman " and he waxes eloquent in praising the German woman and the high esteem in which she was held. The primitive Germans admired and worshipped in woman the spirit of sacrifice, devotion and love born in a chaste and noble heart. The woman was also for them the custodian of the spiritual treasures and the most sacred sentiments of the race. She was the fellow suffered of man in the vicissitudes of life and inspired and encouraged him in times of war and dejection. Tacitus continues to say: " The dowry is not brought by the wife to the husband, but by the husband to the wife. In order that the woman may not live foreign to the heroic aspirations of her husband and to the dangers of war, she is told, at the nuptial rite, that she is entering the house of her husband as his companion in sorrow and danger and that she must be prepared to share with him his sufferings and risks, in peace as in war. Life in common, death in common."

This is the German ideal of womanhood and striking is its similarity with our own ideal as handed down to us by our remotest Aryan forefathers. This primitive ideal finds expression in one of the two German national epics " Gudrun " in which the heroine Gudrun is the prototype of feminine fidelity. In more recent and civilised periods of German life we find this ideal in "the eternal feminine" of Goethe ever lifting us upward and in the magnificent tribute of praise which Schiller paid to woman in his poem "Würde der Frauen."

> Ehret die Frauen! Sie flechten und weben
> Himmliche Rosen ins irdische Leben,
> Flechten der Liebe beglückendes Band
> Und in der Grazie züchtigem Schleier
> Nähren sie wachsam das ewige Feuer
> Schöner Gefühle mit heiliger Hand.

In our own days we find a revival of this primitive, German ideal in what is being preached by the Nazis, who want to remove from their tradition all foreign crustations, about women.

In contrast to this genuinely German ideal, the Minnesingers sang of a love which, judged by this standard, would be considered dishonest, but which they considered to be true love. "The mystery with which illegitimate love is to be surrounded, the fear of the lovers being discovered, the fear of indiscretion and spies, the continual tension of the soul and the constant apprehension of losing honour and life—all this furnished the poet with abundant material and motive." (C. Heinemann's History of German Literature.) Poetry for them had a morality different from that of life. They considered all marriage as immoral when not sanctified by the union of the hearts and every union between man and woman was held by them to be moral when based on true love.

Great was the number of the Minnesingers, but the greatest of them all was Walther von der Vogelweide (1170-1230) whose fame has been retained till our own day. He is considered to be the greatest lyrist of Germany before Goethe. But though Walther belonged to the school of Minnesingers, he was head and shoulders above them in the original quality of his mind and composition. There is a sincerity and truth of sentiment in his poetry which makes a strong contrast to the rigid, cold and conventional poems of many of his confrères. His best known poem is "Unter der Linden". in which there is a most happy fusion of the two sentiments of nature and love.

The Minnesingers were followed by the Meistersingers but their poetry was very dull and uninspired. People also soon became tired of the imported cult of love and a reaction against it set in. This is reflected in the poetry of Neidhart von Reuenthal, Steinmar and Tanhuser. These were succeeded by a number of other poets who wrote satirical, didactic and allegorical poetry. But none of them rises above mediocrity and I can only mention the name of Sebastian Brant, not because his poem " Narrenschiff " (1494) contains any gleam of poetry, but because it was from this poem that the English poet Alexander Barclay (1475?-1552) took the conception of his "The Ship of Fools" (1509) which is an adaptation of the German original.

We are now at the threshold of the 16th century and a towering figure meets us here, that of Martin Luther. It has been said that the spirit of the sixteenth century is the spirit of Luther. But we have at the same time to realize the important part which folk-songs play in German life of the time. As the 16th century was the age of reformation and religious fervour, so it was also the most flourishing period of folk-poetry in Germany. The folk-songs were not popular with the learned of the day, nor could they be appealing to the adherents of the stern Lutheran ideal. But they were popular with the people. Here Luther was faced with a problem. He wanted to impress the popular mind with his ideal. So he and his followers created the *Kirchenlied* or church-song, meant to supersede the *Volkslied.* But they realized that they could not affect the popular mind in a learned manner. Therefore the Lutherans, either by choice or from instinct, adopted the simplicity, the metrical form, and sometimes the airs of the *Volkslied* in their composition. The religious hymns of Luther are so closely akin to folk-poetry in spirit as in style, that his famous lyric " Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott," translated by Carlyle as " A good stronghold our God is still " may be said to have now become almost a folk-song.

But the healthy influence of *Volkspoesie* upon the development of the German lyric waned somewhat in the 17th century which is regarded as one of the saddest periods of German literature. The popular poetry does not lose its charm altogether, but it is completely overshadowed by the learned poetry, based on models borrowed from outside, particularly from France and Italy. The leader of this new poetry was Martin Opitz (1597-1639), a literary dictator of the time, whose great ambition was to defend German language and literature by enriching it with poetical works which might vie in elegance and workmanship with the best in other languages. The manifesto of the new poetry is contained in his book on the art of German poetry which appeared in 1624. In this book he deals with the question of German prosody and points out that in German verse it was not sufficient to count the syllables, as in Greek and Latin, but regard was to be had for accent. He illustrated his theories by examples, but his poetry is nothing but imitation and falls far short of the performances of those foreigners whom he wanted to emulate. When he wanted to be original, he failed because he lacked the sincerity of sentiment and real creative power. But he was a fortunate man to have been honoured by his contemporaries as the father of German poetry and the greatest poet of all times.

Of the many contemporaries and disciples of Opitz, we might mention Simon Dach and Paul Fleming. The poetry of Simon Dach (1605-1659) as a whole is dull and disgusting, but he is the author of an exquisite lyric "Aennchen von Tharau ist, die mir gefällt." It is universally known and sung in Germany. It was at first composed in *plattdeutsch* or Prussian Low German Dialect. Herder translated it into modern German and gave it a place in his collection of *Volkslieder* in 1778 because of its close affinity with the spirit of folk-poetry. Longfellow's translation of it as "Annie of Tharaw" is well-known.

Paul Fleming (1609-40) was a better poet than either Opitz or Dach and could often rise above the conventionalism of the school and give a personal touch to his lyrics. His little "Geistliches lied"—

Lass dich nur nichts dauren
Mit Trauren
Sei stille,
Wie Gott es fügt
So sei vergnügt
Meine Wille, etc.

is imbued with that spirit of resignation which can come only from a genuine religious feeling. It produces an effect very similar to that produced by Dante's "Nella Sua volontá è nostra pace."

The influence of the school of Opitz extended over a considerable portion of the eighteenth century. And just as in the beginning of the seventeenth century Opitz was the literary dictator, so in the 18th century J. C. Gottsched had the supreme authority over German literature. He was a follower of the French masters and embodied his literary theories in a book based on "L'Art Poetique" of Boileau and "L'Ars Poetica" of Horace. Gottsched himself was not a poet, but his ideas influenced many of his contemporaries of whom mention may be made of Hagedorn, whose poems show a French lightness of touch and elegance. But during this period German poetry reaches a very low level, and it is not till we come to Klopstock that we find it rising up again.

The key word of Klopstock's (1724-1803) poetry is what we have found Madame de Stäel using for German literature as a whole—enthusiasm. His device was: Nature, Religion, Friendship and Patriotism. His lyrics are superior to his epic and dramatic productions, and in his days the admiration felt for him amounted to idolatry. An example of this idolatry is to be found in Goethe's Werther in that scene where Lotte and Werther stand at the window looking out at the rain-filled country-side. As the rains patter down Lotte suddenly cries out—Klopstock—She is reminded of a poem by him, perhaps his "Frühlingsfeier" in which the poet described the sudden breaking of a storm followed by a return of calm.

The heart is palpitant in Klopstock's poetry. After a century and a half of drought, there is again an inundation of genuine sentiment. Man makes his appearance again in German poetry. He speaks, not in a literary language, but in the language of the heart. His words go deep into the "labyrinth der Brust" and set up a commotion there. People become sentimental, or tender or feel the exhilaration of a new elixir.

The poet is in his happiest vein when he writes of love, but his thoughts and feelings frequently turn to death, tombs and eternity. One of his best known pieces is "Die Frühen Gräber" in which there is a delicate blending of an elegiac sentiment with the sentiment for nature.

Willkommen, O silberner Mond,
Schöner, still Gefährt der Nacht!
Du entfliehst? Eile nicht, bleib', Gedankenfreund!
Sehet, er bleibt, das Gewölk wallte nur hin.

Des Maies erwachen ist nur
Schöner noch, wie die Sommernacht,
Wenn ihm Thau, hell wie Licht, aus der Locke träuft,
Und zu dem Hügel herauf röthlich er kommt.

Ihr Edleren, ach, es bewächst
Eure Male schon ernstes Moos!
O, wie war glücklich ich, als ich noch mit euch
Sahe sich röthen der Tag, schimmern die Nacht.

O, welcome, thou silvery moon,
Lovely, silent, the bride of night
Thou art gone—Speed not, but stay, O friend of thought!
Nay, she abides, 'twas a cloud passed overhead.

The Maytime's awakening alone
Gleams more fair than the summernight,
From her locks radiant falls the dew adown,
Upwards o'er mountains she climbs, rising she glows.

But, noble ones, now overgrown,
Your memorials lonely stand.
I was blest, blest when with you I once could see
Rising the reddening dawn, gleaming the night.

It was natural that an inspiring personality like Klopstock should attract poetically gifted youngmen round him. Round this central luminary moved like satellites Claudius,Bürger, Stolberg, Hölty, Hahn, Weber and Voss. These youngmen formed a poetry-union under the name of *Göttinger Hainbund* or *Dichterbuud* and their organ was the *Musenalmanach* founded in 1772. It would be beyond the scope of this article to give a full account of the activity of this group. Suffice it to mention that their poetry in general had a sentimental character and some members of the group had decided macabre proclivities. But of one of them, Bürger, I may be allowed to take more than a passing notice because of his influence on English poetry. In him the macabre tendency was prominent and he naturally felt attracted by the supernatural to be found in the folk-poetry of his country. Wilhelm Schlegel said of him: " You have created the German folk-song anew." The new element which he introduced into the German lyric was the aesthetics of terror. His celebrated " Lenore " is the best example of this. This is the ballad of a young bride who is kidnapped, but who is in doubt as to who the kidnapper is, her lover or Death. There is an awe-inspiring description of the cavalcade of spirits and the doubt gives place to the terrible certainty when Death appears with the clepsydra and the scythe. The poem was translated into English in 1796 by J. S. Stanley and the sensations provided by it and other similar poems stimulated the fancy of the terror romantic writers of English literature.

Klopstock lived to see the rise of the greatest lyrist of Germany and one of the greatest poets of all times. In his youth, as we have seen, Goethe (1749-1832) was for some time fascinated by the poetry of Klopstock, but the younger poet's fame soon eclipsed the reputation of the old master, and all Germany watched wonder-struck, the rise and rapid growth in size and brightness of this new star in the firmament of German poetry. Goethe's creative activity covers all varieties of literature, but we are concerned only with the lyric element of his genius. Of him as a lyric poet it has been said that he sings just as the bird sings. Schiller called him a "naïve" poet because his lyrics were the direct and spontaneous outcome of lyric moods. The English biographer of Goethe, G. H. Lewes, says that his poetry "opens itself like a flower with unpretending grace."

Goethe's lyric personality is complex. His lyric poetry is a flower which is nourished by different saps. His great assimilative genius enabled him to incorporate in his poetry the best elements of the folk-songs of his country and to vitalize it with new blood taken from the literature of England, France, Italy and Greece. He even drew inspiration from the literature of the east. But he never loses his own individuality and never forgets to reach all humanity. It is this humanistic tendency of his lyric poetry which vests it with a special charm.

Take this little poem of nine lines:

Ach! wer bringt die schönen Tage,
Jene Tage der ersten Liebe.
Ach! wer bringt nur eine Stunde
Jener holden Zeit zurück!

Einsam nähr'ich meine Wunde,
Und mit stets erneuter Klage
Traur'ich ums verlorne Glück.

Ach, wer bringt die schönen Tage
Jene holde Zeit zurück!

It is an individual lament over the days that are no more, but every man and woman would, in reading it, heave a deep sigh for the happy days of his or her youth and love that are for ever gone. And how direct and how artless is the expression! There is not a single ornament in it, not a single rhetorical word, yet it succeeds to fill the mind with the intensest melancholy. If one compares this with Tennyson's poem

Tears, idle tears, I know not what they mean;
Tears from the depth of some divine despair
Rise in the heart, and gather to the eyes,
In looking on the happy Autumn fields
And thinking of the days that are no more.

one will feel the difference in effect produced by art and artlessness. Tennyson goes on:

Fresh as the first beam glittering on a sail,
That brings our friends up from the underworld,
Sad as the last which reddens over one
That sinks with all we love below the verge;
So sad, so fresh the days that are no more.

All humanity cannot enter into and respond to these complex and refined Tennysonian sentiments. It is in this universal human appeal that Goethe scores a success not only over Tennyson but over many other poets.

The folk-poetry of Germany has lent its charm to many lyrics of Goethe. Gretchen's song in Faust "Meine Ruhe ist hin," the "Erl-König," "Heiderröslein" are all imbued with its spirit. But Goethe covers a wide range of subject and wields a variety of style. His "Romische Elegien" are the fruits of his sojourn and antiquarian studies in Rome. Mignon's famous song "Kennst du das Land, wo die Zitronen blühn" is a marvellous evocation of the charm of Italy. The lyrics of his "West=östlichen Divan" have the mellow subdued beauty of an Autumn evening, while his reflective mood finds a most happy lyrical expression in the Harper's song in Wilhelm Meister—"Wer nie sein Brot mit Tränen ass."

Goethe's lyrics are both a fulfilment and a new starting-point for German poetry. He fulfils "the brightest promise in Gunther's, Hagedorn's, and Klopstock's, and not theirs only, but of that of the folk-poets and the mediaeval singers." The new starting point consisted in his "extending the bounds of poetry, in discovering and applying the best of the old traditions, in refusing to be bound by them, and in experimenting fearlessly and successfully."

In Schiller, Goethe's friend and contemporary, the lyric impulse was impeded by the philosophical bent of his mind and by his dramatic talent. He escapes the influence of the *Volkspoesie* and has to wrestle with his ideas for expression. But in one form of lyric poetry, the ballad, he perhaps excelled Goethe. His poetry as a whole is the poetry of reflection. However, when he does not give way to philosophical reflection, he can sometimes attain lyrical liberation and then he can move our hearts with deep-felt sentiments. He attains this lyrical liberation in one well-known poem called " Sehnsucht."

Ach, aus dieses Thales Gründen,
Die der kalte Nebel drückt,
Könnt' ich doch den Ausgang finden,
Ach, wie fühlt' ich mich beglückt!
Dort erblick' ich schöne Hügel,
Ewig jung und ewig grün!
Hätt' ich scwingen, hätt' ich Flügel,
Nach den Hügeln zög' ich hin.

The last four lines of the last stanza of the poem are highly poetical in expression.

Du musst glauben, du musst wagen
Denn die Götter leihn kein Pfand
Nur ein wunder kann dich tragen
In das schöne Wunderland.

" Sehnsucht " is an untranslatable word, " yearning " being only an approximate rendering. " Sehnsucht " poems are peculiar to German literature. Goethe has a poem called " Sehnsucht " and many other poets, particularly the romantics, have felt and expressed the " sehnsucht." It is a special longing, a homesickness of the soul, an aspiration after something that is distant, something that is ideal, something that is in stong contrast with the everydayness of this world. It has taken different forms in different writers. In Novalis it has taken the form of the " blue flower." Among English poets the sehnsucht motive is strong in Shelley. In his " Prometheus Unbound " Asia's song " My soul is an enchanted boat " may be said to be a " sehnsucht " lyric. The same motive recurs at the end of the " Epipsychidion " when the poet says to Emily that " A ship is floating in the harbour now " which will carry them to the " Wunderland." As a matter of fact, the whole life of Shelley is a sehnsucht, an aspiration after a distant ideal or rather a distant reality. Schiller's poem was translated into English by Bulwer Lytton.

In the latter half of Goethe's life, the Romantic movement arose in Germany and German lyric poetry received a new lease of life from it. But in considering the romantic lyric we have again to recognize the importance and vitality of German folk-poetry. All students of English literature know how Prof. Beers tried to reduce romanticism to mediaevalism. His definition may not be entirely satisfactory so far as English poetry is concerned, but mediaevalism occupies a large place in the aesthetics of the German romantics. Their creed was that the source of poetry was not in knowledge but in sentiment and sensibility and that true sentiment and sensibility could exist only in the unsophisticated mind of the people. They therefore dedicated themselves to a deep comprehension of religion and a loving study of the spiritual treasures of the past. The publication between 1805 and 1808 of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (The Boy's Magic Horn), a collection of folk-poetry, was a landmark of the Romantic movement in Germany.

The chief lyrist of the Romantic school was Eichendorff (1788-1875) who imbibed the spirit of folk-poetry to such an extent that his lyrics are still recited and sung by the people as if they were a thing of their own. There is a deep religious vein in his poetry and a profound sentiment for nature. The felicity which he derives from the company of nature finds exquisite expression in the following lovely lyric:

O Thäler weit, O Höhen,
O schöner, grüner Wald,
Du meiner Lust und Wehen
Andächt'iger Aufenthalt!
Da draussen, stets betrogen,
Saust die geschäftige Welt;
Schlag noch einmal die Bogen
Um mich, du grünes Zelt!

Da steht im Wald geschrieben
Ein stilles, ernstes Wort
Von rechtem Tun und Lieben,
Und was des Menschen Hort.
Ich habe treu gelesen
Die Worte schlicht und wahr,
Und durch mein ganzes Wesen
Ward's unaussprechlich Klar.

Bald werd'ich dich verlassen,
Fremd in der Fremde gehn,
Auf bunt bewegten Gassen
Des Lebens Schauspiel sehn;
Und mitten in dem Leben
Wird deines Ernsts Gewalt
Mich Einsamen erheben,
So wird mein Herz nicht alt.

O Hills and Dales enchanted,
O Forest, green and fair,
Long since devoutly haunted
In all my joy and care,
Still busied, still deceived
The world goes roaring past;
Thy arches thousand-leaved,
Once more around me cast!

For still the wood is giving
Words solemn and sincere,
Of love and noble living
And all we reckon dear.
When I was fain to hear it—
That message plain and true—
Unspeakably my spirit
Was lighted up anew.

Too soon must be our parting,
Afar again I go,
On garish highways starting,
To view Life's puppet show,
And still when life affirays me
Thy stength will aye enfold,
In loveliness will raise me,—
My heart will n'er be old.

Very remarkable lyrical gift was also possessed by Novalis whose poetry is tinged with a soft mysticism. Mention may also be made of Tieck, Uhland, Brentano and Chamisso, all of whom enriched German lyric poetry. Nor can we forget Wilhelm Müller (1794-1827), father of the great Sanskritist Max Müller, who was a gentle poet and enriched German lyric poetry with many a matchless song. He excelled in writing poems about the different aspects of nature. His spring-songs are particularly well-known. There is a freshness of open air in his poetry and his sentiments are always pure. The popular character of many of his poems have endeared them to the German people and the old and young alike take delight in them. Schubart set some of his songs to music.

But the greatest lyrist of the period was Heinrich Heine. He was a jew, and was born in 1799 at Düsseldorf. When he grew up, he renounced the religion of his ancestors, lived as an exile in Paris and there met with death in a miserable condition in 1856. He has left behind him an imperishable monument of his lyric gift in his " Buch der Lieder (the Book of Song). It is perhaps the best known German book outside Germany, save and except Goethe's Faust.

Heine is undoubtedly one of the greatest lyrists that the world has ever known. But his reputation, like that of Byron, is higher outside than inside his own country.. German critics rate him rather low, but for the majority of the forign students he is the most loveable of German poets. There is a passage in " Adone " by the Italian poet Marini, in which the nightingale is described by the epithet " a singing atom " (un atomo sonante). The epithet is wonderfully expressive of the passionately sweet chararacter of the bird's song. If Heine had a little more profundity of sentiment and passion inhim, he might be this " singing atom " of the German *Dichterwald* (poetical grove). But as he is, he remains only a dove.

My description has perhaps already suggested to my readers the quality of his poetry. It is sweet, often sad. It would often make one absent-minded by its delicate suggestiveness and not infrequetly perhaps it would even moisten one's eyes with tears. But all this is just as the dove's coo would do when heard in the depth of the wood and in the silence of the noon. But it cannot make one's whole being vibrate with passion; it does not resound with that soul-consuming intensity of sentiment which we come across in the immortal lines of Burns:

Had we never loved so kindly,
Had we never loved so blindly,
Never met or never parted,
We had never been broken-hearted!

The theme of most of the lyrics of Heine is love. This he has sung in hundred different ways, always introducing a novelty of thought, or expression or fancy. His lyrics are as a rule extremely brief, but brevity in their case is not weakness but strength. Heine was to a certain extent influenced by Indian literature, and the brief Sanskrit love lyrics of Amaru and Bhartrihari might have something to do with this brevity. He has also written many sea lyrics and ballads. As a matter of fact, he is the best sea-poet of Germany. But in his poetry, again, we find what we have all along tried to emphasize the tonic effect of German folk-poetry. He has taken several lyrical measures from this poetry, as well as much of its simplicity and melody. About the poetical form of Heine, Matthew Arnold, in his excellent study of the poet, says: " The magic of Heine's poetical form is incomparable; he chiefly uses a form of old German popular poetry, a ballad form which has more rapidity and grace than any ballad form of ours; he employs this form with the most exquisite lightness of touch and ease, and yet it has at the same time the inborn fulness and pathos, and old world charm of all true forms of popular poetry."

Many of Heine's lyrics have been set to music by different composers and have been frequently translated into foreign languages. Here are two specimens of them:

(1)

Du bist wie eine Blume,
So hold und schön und rein;
Ich schau' dich an, und Wehmut
Schleicht mir ins Herz hinein.

Mir ist, als ob ich die Hände
Aufs Haupt dir legen sollt',
Betend, dass Gott dich erhalte
So rein und schon und hold.

(2)

Aus meinen Tränen spriessen
Viel bluhende Blumen hervor,
Und meine Seufzer werden
Ein Nachtigallenchor.

Und wenn du mich lieb hast, Kindchen,
Schenk' ich dir die Blumen all'
Und vor deinem Fenster soll klingen
Das Lied der Nachtigall.

(1)

Even as a perfect flower,
Pure, fair and dear thou art,
I look on thee and sorrow
Steals o'er my inmost heart.

My hands I lay devoutly
Upon thy head in prayer,
That God may ever guard thee,
So pure, and dear and fair.

(2)

Out of my tears are springing
Flowers that will never fail,
My bitter sighs are changing
Each to a nightingale.

Dear child, if thou wilt love me,
To thee my flowers I bring,
And at thy chamber window
The nightingale shall sing.

NATURE OF INFERENCE

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IT has often been assumed that thought in its inferring function seizes some matter externally given and arranges it according to certain forms which are its own, with the result that the foreign matter is made to yield a new product and increase our knowledge. The first part of the assumption is very much the same as the assumption of Kant that in order to the possibility of knowledge the heterogeneous elements of sense and understanding must somehow be combined. It is assumed that the conclusion of an inference can no more be drawn from the datum alone or the constructive thought alone than knowledge can arise from mere sensations or mere understanding.

The supposition that the matter and form of inference are externally related to each other and that, yet, the former is amenable to the latter, leads to a self-contradictory position. For, if the matter were not *of thought* but essentially had an independent existence prior to thought's operation on it, it could never be made to receive the impression of thought. Probably the rejoinder would be that an assumption like this is unavoidable, since the data are passive and cannot so arrange themselves as to reach a conclusion which must, therefore, be drawn out by some active principle, *viz.*, thought. We might be told further that although in common language we always speak of the conclusion as following from the premise, or premises, we cannot believe that the conclusion follows "wholly unhelped." Super-imposition of thought on the datum is alleged to be a necessity, since otherwise we are forced to maintain that in inference thought is either altogether redundant or a mere passive spectator of a process.

We do not deny the activity of thought in the matter of drawing a conclusion. Rather we contend that inference involves a constructive activity of thought. We admit with Bradley that "if passively we stood spectators of a process, then once more we were cheated." (*Principles of Logic*, Vol. II., p. 554). The admission may not, however, necessitate the assumption that thought imposes itself on a datum which is other than thought. The datum of inference is a judgment and judging is thinking. Every act of inference involves an operation of thought on a judgment or judgments which it synthesises and develops into a conclusion. The given in an inference are not *thoughtless* facts, submissive or otherwise, which thought takes from outside and couples together, but are judgments or thought-connections. Thought presents to itself these thought-connections and distinguishes itself from them in developing them into further thought-connections. This is the relation of *form* to *matter* of an inference. Inference is therefore an entirely self-dealing concern of thought.

But before we proceed further, we shall try to explain the second part of the assumption which demands that the conclusion must be a new product. In modern times much stress has been laid on the difference of the conclusion from the premises, although it must be admitted that many modern logicians oppose the doctrine of thought's externality to the datum and conclusion. It is urged that the conclusion must be something new. Though it follows from and is grounded on the premises, it is never their repetition. Mill remarks in connection with Immediate Inferences: " In all these cases there is not really any inference; there is in the conclusion no new truth, nothing but what was already asserted in the premises, and obvious to whoever apprehends them. The fact asserted in the conclusion is either the very same fact, or part of the fact, asserted in the original proposition " (*System of Logic*). The conclusion should be other than the premise. " We say of a fact or statement, that it is proved, when we believe its truth by reason of some other fact or statement from which it is said to follow " (*System af Logic*). The novelty of the conclusion is, according to Mill, an essential condition of inference; and since Syllogism does not fulfil that condition, it is accused of Petitio Principii. He regards Induction as "a process of real inference," for "the conclusion in an induction embraces more than is contained in the premises" (*System of Logic*). Similarly Besanquet maintains that there cannot be any inference "unless the conclusion (*i*) is necessary from the premises, and (*ii*) goes beyond the premisses." He, however, admits that the necessity of the conclusion is more essential than its novelty. In Bradley's *Principler of Logic*, also, we meet with the same demand. "For consider, we agreed that the result must be new. If we had nothing fresh we should have no inference. But, if so, what was given us has suffered a change; it is altered and made different, and made different, we must admit, through our mind's operation" (Page 552, Vol. II). So Johnson thinks that "in order that there shall be some real advance and not a mere *petitio principii*, it is required that the asserting of the premises *should not have* implied the previous asserting of the conclusion" (*Logic*, Part II, p. 10).

In what, then, does the freshness of the conclusion consist ? If it means that the conclusion should be new *factually*, or in other words, it should, as a fact, be other than the premisses, then evidently thought cannot move from the premisses to the conclusion. Sanity of thought does not sanction the passage, e.g., from ' John is a student ' to ' This house is made of bricks.' The starting and concluding judgments cannot have different objective references in that sense. If, again, novelty is interpreted as possession of *more matter* by the conclusion,—and this seems to be Mill's interpretation—then there arises an insurmountable difficulty of accounting for the element of excess. The so-called 'new' or 'more' matter in the conclusion is not warranted by the data. And the question arises; " Where does it come from ? " If the excess be the outcome of super-imposed thought which somehow adds to the fact-value of the conclusion, we are committed to the absurd position that the conclusion does not follow from the premisses. If, again, it be the effect of the premisses having less fact-value, we are forced to admit that the more is accounted for by the less. There must, therefore, be an unasserted residual datum alongside of the asserted datum which also is effectively responsible for the conclusion.

In what sense, then, the conclusion may be regarded as embracing more than what is contained in the premisses ? In what does the difference between the premisses and conclusion consist ? Every real inference is paradoxical in character. The conclusion follows from and transcends the premisses. We hope to explain the essential puzzle of inference by taking note of the fact that thought evolves. The thought with which we start from the premisses grows into the concluding thought which again becomes the starting point for further developments of itself. Thought is essentially an organic system consisting of elements linked with one another in various ways. In passing from the premisses to the conclusion thought does but evolve itself necessarily into its *more coherent* form. Every act of inference is a process of the organisation of judgments in which the advance of thought consists. The premisses are organised into and embraced by the conclusion which, in the richness of coherence, goes beyond them. The novelty of the conclusion is but *systemic.*

The logical antecedent and consequent are two distinguishable stages in the self-development of thought. Thought's nature is to advance, bit by bit, towards greater and greater system ; and the movement of thought from premisses to conclusion is in that direction. It is a never-ending process. Instead of concluding thought's activity, the conclusion develops into furthar conclusion and so on. The more thought advances, the more it connects and corrects itself. Connection implies correction. The more evolved and coherent thought in the conclusion corrects and embraces the less evolved and coherent thought in the premisses. Correction, implying removal of contradiction, is essential to any progress and, hence, to the progress of thought.

The ideal of thought is to build up a perfectly coherent system of judgments. It does not rest satisfied until it removes the slightest mis-connection in the system. Thought, in the act of inference, approximates to the ideal by adding new bits of information concerning reality to the other bits it possesses already and arranging them all in perfect order and harmony. "The frontier line is constantly advancing," as Hobhouse has put it. Acquisition and systematization go hand in hand. This is what we mean by the self-expansion and self-organisation of thought. Inference is therefore a gradual march of thought towards the ideal system of judgments.

THE CHARACTER OF INDIAN ART

By Adris Banerji.

I

THE functions of art are manifold. One of which is to give aesthetic pleasure. But unfortunately the term aesthetics does not lend itself to any easy definition. Human life is not all work. It has another side—recreation. To keep alive his best qualities and refill his worn-out faculties, man needs leisure. In ancient days this need of enjoyment during leisure hours produced games. In these games besides the players there were another party—the spectators. Twenty-two men actually take part in a soccer match, but what of the thousands of men that sit on the enclosing stands ? What pleasure do they derive ? It is the pleasure of the spectacle. But, aesthetic pleasure is very different from the insane frenzy with which a Calcutta crowd is in habit of witnessing a football match. Because aesthetics is characterized by a certain degree of moderation and calmness. It is the pleasure our mind derives from pure contemplation of an artistic production. It is the pleasure of enjoyment that takes no account of practical value and significance.

The necessity of art is undoubted, the pleasure it procures may minister to knowledge. The intellect is enriched and the heart strengthened. Thus one function of art is purely psychological, to transcend the human faculties to a higher plane, to understanding, imagination and sensibility.

II

Influences on Art.

True art is one, but its forms are many. In the stillness of night when a late passer-by, on going home, plays on his humble bamboo flute, the melody vibrating through the quiet and peace of the night touches a different chord in every human heart. To some one it sounds full of joy and hope, of glories to come ; to others, fatigued with the journey of life, with hopes unfulfilled and shattered dreams it rouses memories of days gone by. The time is the same, the flute same, the tune same, the player same, yet what a difference ? There is one God but our forefathers thought that his various forms are to be found in the different phenomena of nature. In the swift driving storm that suddenly sweeps down upon the earth from nowhere, we can see him in his destructive mood. The moon with its silvery tendrils of cool light, the glowing sun with its burning rays, the clear and calm dawn that appears every day like a bashful maiden, are merely some of the multitudinous forms of one ultimate and universal being. In the same way the art of every nation may be taken to represent the different forms of a universal art. The art of a country like its inhabitants belong to the nature of the soil. The climate, the flora and fauna, the materials, the difference in landscapes, all singly and together go to clothe the artistic impulse of the people. It is wrong to pit art of one country against another. The tall fair-skinned Englishman with his well-tailored suit, is quite at home in his foggy island home, the stalwart, eagle-eyed Pathans with their baggy pyjamas and dazzling velvet waistcoats, are picturesque in the fastnesses of their native hills, the Bengali Babu with his soft fleshy body or lean physique suits well the fertility and adversity of Bengal, but, without their proper environment they lose their original charm. The Englishman with his choleric face and impatient manners creates panic in the bazaar, the Pathan bereft of the company of his beloved rifle and the protection of his native hills turns a moneylender and the Bengali Babu infected with superiority complex and aversion for any sort of physical culture, has become a standing joke amongst the more powerfully built northerners.

III

ENVIRONMENT AND ART.

The purpose of this contribution is to consider the character of ancient Indian art. But before we commence this, as a general observation we may note, that Indian art as a whole, is known to us through archaeological discoveries. Another difficulty that lies in the way of a proper and synthetic appreciation of Indian art is that vast areas are still lying unexplored. During the past decade or so considerable progress has been made, but much still remains to be done. In so far as it is possible to study architectural remains that are still found on the surface of the earth, or numerous fragments exhumed from long forgotten ruins, the student and the scholar had to study them by their exterior characteristics without any literary records whatever to guide them in their task.

In the early stages of Indological studies the scholars committed the initial mistake by applying western canons to an art that has never known them. The ancient Indian art (by which is meant plastic art, architecture and painting) has its own canons, measure and melody. There can be no question whether Egyptian, Greek, or Indian art is best. each in its own place is supreme. To properly understand the artistic productions of a people, their achievements and failure, it is necessary to understand the atmosphere, the natural geography, the contrasts in climate and conditions; the materials and necessities. India is a tropical country with a brilliant sunshine in plenty, but this unlike Egypt is considerably mellowed by the dampness of the climate. The barrenness of Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand and Rajaputana, offer the strongest contrasts to the verdure of the others. The monotony of the unlimited level plains is broken by high mountain ranges. While the solemn grandeur of the snow-clad Himalayas, stand in silent protest, against the buoyancy of the green foothills.

IV

CLIMATE, MATERIALS AND ARCHITECTURE.

The primeval forests which were abundant in ancient times, supplied excellent wood for building purposes. The pink marble of Rajputana, the trap and granite of the Deccan, the red sandstone of Jaipur and yellow of Chunar, placed a wealth of material at the disposal of the architect. In western India the caves were produced ' in actual geological formation,' ' the *rathas* of Mamallapuram were hewn out of amygdaloidal trap.' Elsewhere, in the low-lying plains of Bengal, in the valleys of the Indus, the alluvial soil was the only material available for building purposes, and this when dried in the sun or baked in kiln became excellent bricks, which were extensively used in these districts.

In every age and in every country the climate has ruled over the destiny of building styles. It is true that climate is not the sole origin of a style, there are certainly other factors, but it was climate which set men to think about protection against the vagaries of nature. The Egyptians had a dry climate and bright atmosphere; the mud of the Nile when dried in sun became as hard as stone. The Egyptians thus built houses of sun-dried bricks with flat roofs or open colonnaded first storey. When they began to use stone, they imitated their brick architecture. The seaboard of the Mediterranean had climate both temperate and brilliant but it was not free from rain like Egypt. Therefore we find that the Cretans laid their roof to a slight fall. A third instance in which the climate has influenced architecture is Mesopotamia. Here heat in the summer, rain and cold in the winter are extreme. Thin walls were useless in such conditions, thick walls were necessary to resist the heat and cold. Therefore, in Mesopotamia we find thick walls and square shape of buildings as in Egypt, but as neither timber nor stone were available, the mud brick constructions were carried overhead in the shape of the dome or the vault.

In India the heat in the summer, the rainfall in the monsoon and cold in winter are extreme. Light too played a considerable part in the determination of the style. To counteract the heat and cold, thick, solid walls were built. The brilliancy of the sunshine led to the walls being built without great openings or windows. One doorway was sufficient to show the interior of the sanctum of the temple. One horseshoe-shaped window was enough to light up the interior of a *chaitya* hall. Like the ancient Egyptians and the Sumerians the Indians first began to build in reed or bamboo and mud. In order to meet the heavy rains of the monsoon they built their roofs with a tangental fall, so that the water will slide down, instead of percolating through the roofs. From the reed and bamboo the next step was wood, which was abundant in those days. The ancient Indian was a careful architect, and when he turned from wood to stone, he carefully copied the wooden originals, so that the transition from one material to another may easily be perceived. The method of construction of the railings around the Buddhist stupas at Bharhut, Sanchi and Bodh-Gaya, are absolutely wooden. The façades of the great *chaitya* caves of western India also confirm the above suggestion. The use of wood and stone also decided the style of early Indian architecture in another way. The absence of these two materials led the Sumerians to invent the arch and the dome at an early date, on the other hand, their abundance in India prevented the ancient Indians from making use of these two expedients in their buildings, till a very late date in their history. The strongly marked horizontal and tangental lines of the landscapes further determined the destiny of

Indian architecture. In such surroundings of unlimited level plains and lofty mountains, the little marble temples of Greece, the slender Roman arches, and fluted columns with delicate foliage at the top, would have been absolutely unbecoming. The nature and environment demanded from the Indian mind a new kind of architecture, requiring originality, imagination and stability. He began to build curvilinear *śikharas* in imitation of his humble reed aud bamboo huts. His religion taught him that *mukti* cannot be obtained by remaining within the worldly pleasures, one must pray and practice austerities in the solitude of the jungles or mountains. He, therefore, carved wide *chaitya* halls and cells in the heart of the mountains, so that the pious may live and pray for the salvation of mankind. With what a great success he was able to transplant his ideas and sentiments in stone is borne out by the austere desolation of Bhaja, the secluded peace of Karle and lyric grandeur of Ajanta and Ellora.

Light also played a considerable part in shaping the distinctive features of Indian architecture. We have already noticed that the brilliancy of the sunshine led to the building of the solid walls without great openings or windows. The result of this was that, both the walls and roofs of the temples could be used for ornamental decorations and due to strong light they could be observed to the minutest detail; while the tropical jungle, with myriads of vegetable and animal life, gave enough materials for decorative motifs. The richness of decorative art was also due to Indian temperament, which has an inherent horror for empty spaces. Never was the sheer joy of living more beautifully painted, or carved in wood, stone or bone, as is done even now in India. In the foggy atmosphere of England, in sunny Spain, in Italy, or in the sparkling Mediterranean, these would have been a meaningless barbarity. But amidst the exuberant flora and fauna of India, they apply a colour of peculiar strength and charm to the monuments.

V

PLASTIC AND OTHER ARTS.

The principles which were thus imposed upon the architecture of the country, holds good about its reliefs, sculptures in the round, paintings, etc. Amongst these massive walls and square pillars, within the solitary caves and lofty temples, or beside the huge *stūpas* the nymphlike Venus or the sporting Apollo would have been a sacrilege. They belong to the woodclad mountain slopes or marble peaks of Greece, a land of translucent atmosphere, they do not belong to the severe landscape of India. However serious or monstrous the Indian art may seem to a foreign observer, the ancient Indian was fully aware of his conditions, and he made his art tally with his environment and temperament. Within these conditions, he found ample scope for the expression of his ideas, feelings and emotions, but he obeyed the conditions implicitly, and in this obedience or surrender to environmental demands lies his greatest achievement.

The ancient Indian art first springs before our eyes in the chalcolithic age. But it is not the beginning. The variety of antiquities of the Indus Valley Civilisation and their craftsmanship clearly indicate that the beginning of this art is probably to be sought in the forgotten ruins of palaeolithic and neolithic periods of our culture. The majestic *Brāhmanī* Bull, the ferocious rhinoceros, the cute monkeys and the humble buffalo with a feeling of cheery comradeship, prove that they were produced by men with centuries of artistic traditions behind. The merit of the artists of the Indus Valley lies in their ability to portray an amazingly realistic and picturesque impression of contemporary life. There is little order in the composition in which all sorts of natural and mythical animals and human beings are herded together at random without any thought of perspective or order. Nevertheless, they show a wonderful ability at portraiture by faithful observation of nature, and sense of rhythm and effect. The figures (both animal and human) are saturated with vitality and dynamic energy. The animals are represented as superior to human beings, and though powerfully modelled are invariably represented as inactive. This art does not end here, it persists down the ages.

The next chapter of Indian art opens in the 5th or the 4th century B.C. A gulf of several centuries separates the Indus art with its successor. During this period of darkness, a complete change in the cultural and ethnical character of the population had taken place. The deluge in the shape of the conquest of the country by a fair-haired and fair-skinned people swept away much of the older civilisation. During the long hiatus that separates the chalcolithic age from the dawn of the historical period, the process of absorption and assimilation between the conqueror and the conquered must have been in progress ; but we can only assume this, there is no definite evidence. With the rising of the curtain, we find India a disorganised collection of peoples, divided into small states—republican and monarchical. The art of the historical period is not completely disassociated from its prehistoric predecessor. Attempts have been made to bridge the gulf and to find survival of motifs and plastic traditions. But it has to be admitted, that the evidence is too meagre to warrant any definite hypothesis.

In the beginning art was merely a language, a means of expressing thought and sentiments, an instrument of communion between men. Artist the creator used his own life, his knowledge as his materials. Therefore to understand his products, we must turn back on his literature, faith and social life. In the literature of the ancient Indians, from the eternal *Vedas* down to the later *kāvyas* of Bhavabhūti, we meet with tender humanism and nature sympathies. It is these characteristics, an attempt to represent the various aspects and elements of nature sympathetically and realistically, that runs through the whole gamut of Indian art. When Ruskin wrote that Indians were never able to render nature faithfully, the glories of Bhārhut, Sānchi and Ajantā must have been unknown. Moreover, ideals of people differ. In ancient Greece the perfect human animal was considered as gifted with divine grace. Therefore the figure of an athlete was considered the best model for the sculptor and the painter. On the other hand, the Indians had traditional horror for the anthropomorphical representation of their gods. They knew that their gods were universal, eternal and infinite. Hindu philosophy and canons of art (of a later date), recognize the absurdity of attempting to give practical shape to the perfect divine form. The artists of the Buddhistic faith, which was started as a protest against the bloody rituals of later Vedic-Brahmanism, also recognised this implicitly. It was not until they came in contact with the Greeks, that they dared to carve figures of Gautama-Buddha in stone or stucco.

When the ancient Indians reached this stage, the canons laid down that the artists should try to visualise the divine form by concentration of his thoughts (*yoga*). He should rather depend on his spiritual force than on visible objects. Therefore we find that the ancient Indian sculptors and painters have tried to represent in a milder or symbolical way the idea of divine beings.

En passant we may notice that the great art of India was wholly religious ; the purpose of the artists was neither self-expression nor realisation of an ideal type of beauty. He did not even choose his own problems, but like the Egyptians obeyed a hieratic canon. To him theme was all in all. But this does not mean that the artists were compelled to turn their eyes away from nature and created monsters. It would also be a great mistake to regard the art of India as immutable ; gradual changes and modifications, due to foreign conquest and peaceful mixture with alien races transformed it incessantly. Another thing which strikes us most about the figures is a feeling of sublime repose. The majestic aloofness of Egypt, solidity and expressionless face of the Sumerian sculpture, and severity or sternness of Assyrian and Hittite art is totally absent here. In the serene posture of a *Mahāyogī* we find represented the Indian conception of a superhuman being. The *Yakshī* climbing the tree at Bharhut, lions on the Aśoka capitals are full of vigour and vitality yet over their whole frame a deft hand has spread a sense of calm repose and serene charm. The caryatides at Sanchi are full of youthful charm but they lack the sensuousness that characterizes the Scythic art of Mathura.

Without going into any further details, we may conclude by saying that as a true art, the Indian possessed in splendid perfection, the sense of strength, permanence, harmony with environment, serene and sublime charm, tempered with kindliness and sympathy.

RELIGION : ITS ORIGIN, GROWTH AND BEARING UPON LIFE

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THIS is pre-eminently an age of Science. The rapid development of modern science has, to a considerable extent, checked the spirit of religion. The trend of modern thought is pre-eminently prosaic and materialistic. Art, literature, philosophy and religion are all being tested in the crucible of scientific criticism. The practical concerns of life—the fever and fret of it—have given a set-back to the current of man's reason and imagination. This so-called antagonism between science and religion has been a great factor in driving people to vain scepticism and atheism and they are denouncing religion as mere superstition and maudlin sentiment, or as the invention of priests or other self-seeking individuals ; or at best they regard it as a mere artificial result of civilisation. But in truth, there can be no opposition between science and religion. The spirit of this hostility is not however grounded upon the actual facts of the case but upon the narrowmindedness and idiosyncrasies of a particular group of scientists or religious teachers. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, for instance, science treated its subject-matter in such a way as to leave no room for religion. Or, if we trace our investigation far back into earlier periods still, we come across the same spirit of antagonism between the two. The influence of the Renaissance made this opposition more acute. The scientific people in those days were filled with pride and felt that they could do without religion. It was not until the influence of the Reformation had begun to make itself felt that the way was opened for a happy reconciliation between science and religion. When science attains its highest summit of truth, the situation is gradually changed and there is found to be no hostility between the two but rather they are regarded to be complementary to each other. Science is taken to be a friend and ally of religion and it is found that the domain of the one does not overlap that of the other.

It is a fact admitted on all hands that religion though in a very crude form, far more precedes science as well as morality. We come to find in the history of mankind that even the most primitive and uncultured races have attempted some sort of religious worship or have observed some form of religious rites or other, even at a stage when they were lacking in any 'Scientific Culture.' In the words of Pfleiderer "With all peoples, the origin of science can be traced from their religious views. Myths and legends are the original forms which prompted men to cultivate a scientific spirit." Again, the fact of the priority of religion to morality is expressed in these words of Höffding "Religion in its lowest forms cannot be said to have any ethical significance. The gods appear as powers on which man is dependent, but not as patterns of conduct or administrators of an ethical world-order." Now our business in this short paper will be to consider what religion truly signifies and what place it holds in the life of man.

Man is a rational self-conscious being, and this entails upon him something higher to live for than mere physical pleasures. He has, no doubt, inherited some of the animal instincts and blind impulses from the lower order of beings whence he sprang; but he is distinguished from the latter by the possession of reason and judgment. Like an animal, man hunts, kills, roams in quest of food and does other cruel and immoral things for the attainment of his physical and momentary pleasures. But these tasks do not wholly exhaust the life of man as man.

A higher nature of man, however, is revealed in his spiritual characteristics. In the very notion of man as a spiritual, self-conscious being there is already involved what is termed by Caird "a potential or virtual infinitude." Nature and man being both finite and relative, fail to fully satisfy man. He must needs attain the Infinite and Absolute, beyond natural objects. As contrasted with Nature and other inferior grades of creation it is the special prerogative of the human mind "to be in virtual possession of a kind of infinitude." Man has the power "to transcend the bounds of narrow individuality to find himself in that which seems to lie beyond him." As Caird puts it, "There is that in man which forces him to rise above what is material and finite and to find rest nowhere short of an Infinite All-comprehending Mind,"—this religious spark is original and universal, and is ingrained in the very nature of man. This demand for the Infinite is no less urgent upon him than his hungering for food and thirsting for drink. This conscious or unconscious quest of the

Absolute—this cry of the Finite for the Infinite—this "transcendence of all that is finite and relative" this elevation of the finite spirit into communion with an Infinite and Absolute spirit, this tension of feeling between the actual and the ideal, is what we mean by "Religion"—which is thus involved in the nature and characteristics of human beings. "Man's unhappiness," as Carlyle says, "comes of his greatness: it is because there is an infinite in him which, with all his cunning, he cannot quite bury under the finite."

Strictly speaking, it is very difficult to set forth a correct and accurate definition of religion. Of course, it may seem very odd that a word so repeatedly on the lips of men and denoting one of the most obvious phenomena of human life, should be so inconceivably difficult of definition. None of us probably can get along without using this term, yet when asked just what we mean by the same, very few of us can tell. The reason is not far to seek. Edward Caird in his Gifford Lectures on "The Evolution of Religion" argues that "it must be almost profitless to seek for a common formula which will fit in with all forms of religious expression, from the superstitions of savages to the loftiest and most spiritual faiths of mankind. For, we are necessarily driven in that case, to define it in terms of the lowest and most rudimentary forms, and the beggarly elements reached along such a path would be entirely useless in the interpretation of the higher levels of religious experience." The fact is that religion is extraordinarily wide in range and diversified in content. It has spread all over the earth and assumed an almost endless variety of forms. It extends its sway over all lands, all ages and all people. Still it is the same in no two countries, no two generations, not even in two men! There is accordingly, of necessity, an enormous difficulty in finding one single expression which comprehends and suits the vast variety of forms assumed by the religious life. Hence all definitions of religion that have been put forward by different men are more or less arbitrary and they should be taken rather as postulates than as axioms. Any satisfactory definition of religion must be derived from a consideration of the whole course of its history viewed as a process of transition from the lowest to the highest—which is a very hard task indeed!

Nevertheless we can attempt to gain some insight into the real nature of religion by the examination of some of the tentative and provisional definitions that have been offered. Among the innumerable definitions of religion that have been suggested, those that have been most frequently adopted for working purposes by anthropologists are Tylor's and Frazer's. To Sir E. B. Tylor we owe the term '*animism*' in which he sums up savage philosophy and religion. According to him, the foundation of primitive thought on these subjects is the idea of the soul, spirit or ghost. Animism is a conception of the world and is not, in and for itself, a religion. Its peculiar characteristic is that it explains events through the interpolation of spirits, or personal beings. Hence Tylor in his "Primitive Culture" proposes as a minimum definition of religion "the belief in spiritual beings." Objections to this definition on the ground of incompleteness are firstly that besides belief, practice must also be reckoned with, and secondly that the outlook of such belief and practice is not exclusively towards the spiritual but is likewise towards the 'quasi-material.' The merit of this definition however lies in its 'bilateral form' which distinguishes between the religious attitude and the religious object to which the former has reference.

Sir J. G. Frazer in his "Golden Bough" understands by religion "a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man, which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life." Frazer goes on to explain that by 'powers' he means 'conscious or personal agents.' Here he definitely opposes religion to magic, which according to him, is based upon the assumption that the course of nature is determined not by the passions and caprices of personal beings but by the operation of immutable laws acting mechanically.

Frazer's definition, no doubt, improves on Tylor's in so far as it makes worship integral to religious attitude. But by regarding the object of religion as necessarily personal he excludes much of the rites of primitive people. Further in maintaining that the powers recognised by religion are always superior to man, he restricts this definition, and takes no notice of a host of practices observed by the primitive races.

Religion has also been defined by Dr. Martineau in his 'Study of Religion', as "Man's belief in an Ever-lasting god—that is, a Divine Mind and Will holding moral relations with mankind." Max Müller in his 'Science of Religion' has termed it "a mental faculty or disposition which enables man to apprehend the Infinite." Caird and Hegel call it the "Knowledge of God." According to Schleiermacher it is a "feeling of absolute dependence" upon some Invisible

Power (or Powers) mightier than man himself and conceived as directing the course of Nature and the destiny of man, who has derived his existence from the same power. Otto in his "Idea of the Holy" prefers to substitute the term 'Creature Consciousness' or 'Creature feeling' for the 'feeling of dependence.' "It is the emotion of a creature abased or overwhelmed by its own nothingness in contrast to that which is supreme above all creatures."

From the above it is clear that the different definitions of religion lay stress on the different elements of mind according to the predilections of their authors. One calls it a mere 'belief' or 'knowledge'; one terms it a 'feeling,' while another emphasises the volitional or conative factor in religion. But the fact is that religion is neither a feeling alone nor knowing nor willing by itself. It is the attitude of the whole self wherein all the aforesaid elements are intermingled. It is an attitude of reverence, awe, admiration, gratitude, trust, reliance, humble submission, love and hope, issuing out of the idea of God as the author and ruler of the Universe, as the guide and guarantee of men, as the guarantee of their freedom and the pledge of their immortality; it expresses itself in conduct calculated to bring the will and character of men more and more into harmony with those of God. It is generally found that in almost all forms of religion a man seeks to establish a helpful relationship between himself and higher powers. Thus, the old belief that 'fear made the gods' is obviously erroneous. For, we all know that fear is the emotion which corresponds to the instinct of flight from and not of approach to God. If fear alone would dominate religious attitude, no helpful relationship would then be established. Hence it would rather be more correct to assert that wonder and awe made the gods, 'fear' being, of course, one of the elements present in the emotion of awe.

Now in religious attitude, this impulse to form the relationship with God and secure satisfaction thereby, proceeds from a felt need. The presence of this need however is significant of an incompleteness on the part of the subject which experiences it and it also signifies "some uneasiness or lack of harmony which the individual strives to change into a state of satisfaction." Were man a being spiritually complete or, as Caird says 'were he doomed to remain for ever unconscious of his own defects'—then in neither case would the motives which prompt a religious attitude, be present. Man would never strive to link himself to higher powers ; or, in other words, he would be utterly irreligious. Thus, the universality of a felt need is the secret of the universality of religion. We try to make good the wants and imperfections inherent in our nature by striving to reproduce in ourselves what is already realised in the God of Religion. Hence is the appropriateness of Hoffding's definition of religion as the "belief in the conservation of the highest values." By this is implied that religion gives us an assurance and guarantee that what we consider to be the most valuable of all things in life will not be lost. We value, for example, most of all, 'truth,' 'beauty' and 'goodness'—*Satyam, Sivam and Sundaram.* The God of religion, therefore, will be the guarantee for us that these highest ideals of ours are not mere dreams or airy nothings, but that they are already realised in the creator—the sustainer of the universe. Hence we are inclined to characterise God as the embodiment of Truth, Beauty and Goodness.

Now, religion, as we have already mentioned, assumes manifold forms. We come across varied types of religion existing amongst the different nations in different ages. The higher religions have all developed on a pre-existing basis in response to an impulse of the religious spirit seeking better self-expressions. They have grown out of primitive religion and all of them exhibit traces of their lineage. The earliest stage of religion seems to have been animistic as Tylor has indicated. The transition to the more developed stages was the outcome of the various social changes of mankind which were reflected in the growth of man's inner life. The old Fetichism and Spiritism with its multitude of indefinite powers and capricious demons no longer suited man's better ordered life and its varied interests. The larger and more constant values of social order required divine beings capable of responding to its wants; and the rise of Polytheism was the direct answer to these religious demands. The Polytheistic system of religion was the expression of man's vision of the world—a world of diverse departments and manifestations. People adored at this stage the spirits which were thought to reside in natural objects such as the Sun, the Moon, the River, the Mountain and so forth ; and they tried to propitiate them by means of sacrifices, incantations and various other rites and ceremonies. Religion at this stage is rather an attitude of fear than of reverence and love. Besides, it is a tribal concern rather than a universal affair. Our Vedas reveal to us a stage of Polytheistic religion where the gods retain traces of their original connection with the powers and forces of Nature. Many of the greater gods in other religions, too, have a close connection with the phenomena of Nature and show traces of this relationship. Thus, for instance, the Egyptian 'Ra' and the Babylonian 'Shamash' are sun-gods. The Greek 'Zeus' to whom corresponds our Vedic 'Dyaus,' is a sky-god; and also the 'Ushas' of the Vedic Hymns is a dawn-goddess.

As the social life gradually expands, its value becomes more varied and the representations of the gods correspondingly gain in content. A god takes on new qualities and aspects in response to the needs and desires of worshippers; and this process appears in all religions. Few gods, for example, have acquired so varied qualities and offices as the Greek 'Apollo.' His identification with the sun is comparatively late and his original character is obscure. But he came to figure also as the 'Lord of flocks and herds,' the 'Master of oracles and prophecy'—the 'god of healing, purification and of poesy.' Thus the imaginative process which predicated diversified attributes of a deity at the same time, expressed the interests and aspirations of his worshippers. And the cultus was the chief medium by which these tendencies were developed and took concrete forms. There are other types, too, such as Pantheism, Mysticism, Monotheism and so forth. When with the gradual advance of reflective thought and spiritual culture, people grow dissatisfied with animal sacrifices, obscure writings, or cumbrous and superficial ceremonies, they turn to the worship of One Supreme God who holds moral relations with man; and they hope to obtain salvation by obeying His commandments. In many they find the manifestations of the One; and they become soon dimly conscious of a unity pervading the whole cosmic order.

The trend towards Pantheistic thought works itself out more readily when the gods are not sharply defined in their specific characters and attributes. This specially was the case with the Vedic gods, in as much as the qualities of the one were often transferred to another. In the Avatars of Vishnu, for instance, the one God assumes many different forms. So by an easy process of transition the Pantheism of the Upanishad and of the Vedanta is reached. Religion at this stage is a sublime attitude of love, hope and reverence; and it becomes universal instead of remaining only tribal. The ultimate goal of the Indian Vedas, as the Vedanta is termed, is Pantheism—

which proclaims the Absolute identity of man with the One Indivisible Being. All cosmic and psychical phenomena are unified in the One Real Being. Brahman and Atman—the Soul and Absolute are identical. 'Tattvamasi'—'that art thou.' The multiplicity of the world is only Maya (illusion) and it disappears with knowledge. "The gods of the earlier religions gradually dissolve into floating appearances of the single and everpresent soul of things (Atman)." The distinction between the worshipper and the worshipped which seems so essential to the religious attitude, dwindles and fades, till the Hindu thinker recognises that he is one with the All—and that there is One Being and no second "*Ekamebadwitiyam.*" "*Sarvam Khalwidam Brahma.*"

Monotheism again is a late phenomenon of religion. The spirit and meaning of religion attain their fullest and best expression only in some form of monotheistic faith. Polytheism disperses religious interest; intimacy of worship and the confidence of trust are only possible when there is one and only one object of religious devotion. Monotheism is the ripest expression of religious consciousness. It rests on the conviction that the ethical and religious values must have a sufficient ground—and that is the One God on whom all existence and value depend.

Mysticism also, though individualistic in character, is the outcome of a longing for direct and intimate communion with the Divine. The Hindu Yoga is such a method of inducing religious ecstacy by means of concentration and absorption of mind. The Yogin for others is supposed to be a supernatural being to whom God reveals Himself in his true identity.

There may indeed be people, whom the conflict of these sorts of revelations depicted in the scriptures of the world makes hostile to and suspicious about the authority of the prophets and the gospels, Consequently they cast off their religion as a mere hoax or a piece of humbug or stupendous nonsense. They begin to make a hell of this life and prefer worldliness to divine bliss, material prosperity to spiritual purity. This stage of sheer doubts and disbeliefs is certainly a very dangerous one in the sphere of religion.

But the fact is that religion is too precious and deep-rooted an element to be so easily discarded, After all, it is the last solace of mankind. To deny God and his principles is to take away all meaning from life. Life without religion is an empty abstraction. Religion forms a part and parcel of human nature—it is a necessity of reason with which every man is endowed. Had there been no such thing governing the inner life and destiny of man, selfish gratification of pleasures would be the goal of life—flesh would be the object of worship. Character would be at a discount—immortality would be reduced to a fiction, virtue would consist in unscrupulous pursuit of momentary happiness, gold and not God would be the highest deity. Above all, the very existence of life itself would have been precarious—and this earth would not have been worth living in but a hell full of endless sins and vices.

THE FILM AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

SHEIKH IFTEKHAR RASOOL.

It seems superfluous to repeat that agriculture is the chief economic factor in the wealth of nations and the principal element in their social stability.

If agriculture does not receive the attention it deserves, and proper measures are not taken to allow the peasants to live in satisfactory conditions, if the rural population begins to abandon the countryside, the normal industry and trade will suffer, and the social and economical situation will be disturbed. Every effort should therefore be made to keep agricultural conditions normal.

The motion picture here, as in other fields, can render great service. The few already existing instructional films should be supplemented with other pictures dealing with social and family questions.

It is not only economic conditions which operate in agricultural life, but social and rural factors have their influence also. It happens sometimes that a farmer who has reached a certain standard of wealth wishes to live in a city on account of the greater degree of comfort there. The peasant in general finds the life of the city attractive. This is a reason for us to make country life more appealing. We must consider how this is to be done.

It has been argued that it is necessary for men and women to have enough to live on (economic satisfaction) before he or she can begin to philosophise (social and moral satisfaction), but it is my opinion that man can live and philosophise contemporaneously, and the two questions can be examined and dealt with at the same time. I see in this the possibility of developing and improving the social and family side of the domestic life.

The farmer ought to make a better use of his resources to render his surroundings and home life more agreeable, while his wife should interest herself in forming the character of her children and making the home more attractive. Several countries have placed the ruralisation in the front of their programme, and this includes the improvement of country life which is so necessary.

Agricultural Films.

One cannot deny that the film is a magnificent method of general education and technical preparation. Its superiority over other methods is due to the facility with which it can be used, to the thoroughness and preciseness of its instruction and especially to its capacity for showing minute and microscopic objects enlarged thousands of times, thus rendering possible the study of hitherto ignored but very important objects.

The motion picture, when applied to teaching and spreading a knowledge of agriculture, becomes an incomparable interpreter of nature and science, a precious source of information which teaches pupils how the land is to be cultivated and live stock raised.

The film can show us modern farm-planning, the construction of rural habitations and big schemes like electrifications, drinking water installations, irrigation plants and land reclamation projects and practices.

Veterinary science can be taught by its aid, and how pests are to be fought, what is the best way to preserve agricultural products, and the various trading and commercial systems in use. Packing, freight, and selling methods can also be illustrated by means of the film. While it can be usefully employed to summarise agrarian inquiries. The motion picture develops the powers of observation and research in the young, and stimulates their initiative and enterprise.

The agricultural films, moreover, allow us to undertake, within reasonable time limits, an extremely efficacious intensive campaign of propaganda for the most urgent land and live stock questions of to-day.

The agricultural cinema has become to-day an indispensable aid to the country teacher, the lecturer, the engineer, the rural propaganda agent. It does away with a lot of useless effort and reduces to the minimum the lengthy preparations of lessons and scientific experiments. 'Instruct and amuse,' the purpose of the cinema can be summarised in the brief formula. Everybody, whether townsman or countryman has need of something to distract him from the monotony of his daily existence, and the motion picture fills the want admirably. Well chosen pictures can instruct and educate while entertaining.

Kinds of Films.

The kind of film to use is a subject which must now be taken very seriously because the popularising force which derives from a given picture depends closely on the methods which have guided its production.

In the case of the agricultural picture, it is indispensable that the author possesses a knowledge of a number of things. He must be acquainted with science in the first place, and the practice of agriculture, understand the cultivation of the land, the raising of live stock. He should also be a practical farmer of experience, and have first hand and intimate knowledge of all farm work and agricultural organisation. He should know the customs, life and habits of the peasant population.

At the same time, he ought to be an able cinema-man. With an eye for effective shots, and quick to seize upon any interesting and important detail at the right moment, he should have something of the theatre man's aptitude, and be an expert in handling the motion picture camera.

It can hardly be gainsaid that one does not often find all these qualities and capacities in one individual, whence we arrive at the fact that films of this type require two specialists.

It is regrettable to have to point out that sometimes films which are perfect artistic and cinematographic success, contain the gravest heresies and the most lamentable errors from the agricultural and scientific point of view.

Sometimes again, both scientific and technical reality are duly respected and co-ordinated, but the scene sequence is without connection and lacks cadence. rhythm, life, in a word it is good, but it is not cinema.

Again, the purely commercial and speculative character of the film stands out too obviously, and the spectator gathers the impression that the last thing that was desired by the producers was to do something really useful and profitable in the department of culture and education.

It is here that we have to establish a rigid classification for purposes of convenience, to group them under some more or less special denomination and categories.

In this way, we can define a kind of didactic-scientific grouping corresponding to the requirements of agriculture.

I am referring especially to films of animal and vegetable physiology, microbiology, physics, chemistry, etc.

It must be admitted that films of this kind do not offer any special interest to spectators in rural cinemas, as they are generally somewhat above the intellectual level of the audience. Pictures based on laboratory work which as a rule are outside the domain of ordinary agricultural experience, are not appreciated either by agricultural populations who consider them 'too scientific.'

On the other hand, directors of institutes, rural teachers, etc., use these scientific films with great advantage in their lessons and lectures.

Films of this type must be exact and carefully made, without falling into the defect of pedantry. They should be well constructed and such as to arouse the spirit of observation which is so useful in the agricultural business. But even if scientific, they should not be too theoretical and should have their practical side. The ideal thing would be to have several pictures on the same subject to be distributed and used according to the age and intellectual level of the pupils.

In the matter of propaganda films and films intended to popularise agriculture, films, for instance, teaching methods of land cultivation, plant grafting, raising of live stock, the building of peasant dwellings, defence of plants against pests and disease, such films as in fact constitute the larger part of these things, I am able to state that in general the taste of the agricultural public entirely approves of them.

Creating the Rural Mentality.

I now come to the fundamental point in the amelioration of rural life: the formation of the character of the young peasants.

It is all very well teaching the countrymen agricultural technique by means of instructional films, showing them what plants to cultivate, and how to grow them, but this does not in fact improve their comfort or the general standard of their homes. Until steps are taken for forming an agricultural mentality, and for improving the character of the rising generation of peasants, we shall have done nothing useful for rural life.

The characteristics of real civilisation are the elevation of the character, the control over oneself, the dominion exercised over one's instincts and the traditional defects deriving from preceding generations.

Great progress has been made in the field of infantile hygiene in foreign countries, and the mothers have been taught the errors they should avoid and the proper rational systems to follow. In some countries subsidies for children and food supplies are well organised, but in the matter of moral equation, we are still in the stage of empiricism.

The rural cinema ought everywhere to suggest the families the best methods for raising the level of their civilisation by improving the character of the new generation.

The films made for the purpose must act as guides in these subjects, pointing out the lines to be followed. Educationists ought not only to be content with seeing these things done, they should try to apply them in names where they are mostly needed.

The craving to see something new and to be active and in movement, so strongly implanted in children and young persons finds a common satisfaction in the film, which at the same time will be a valuable aid capable of initiating children into the ways of life and thus preparing them for the choice of an occupation and other things. In these films vocational guidance proper should not stop at describing a particular trade: it should show workers at their job, initiating young people in search of an occupation by showing them the use of certain substances or the handling of certain tools. The results so far achieved along these lines in some foreign countries seem to promise a brilliant future. They should, of course, be impartial and show both the pros and the cons of the various careers.

Publicity in Villages.

One cannot deny that the value of such films is beyond question. To achieve better results, I would advocate the use of a Cinema Car which can be taken right into the heart of the country and pictures shown to young and old alike. These films should be short, or at any rate certainly not very long. The programme should be varied, and at least three films should be used. These should consist of:

1. A news-reel of documentary film:
2. A technical agricultural picture:
3. A recreational picture, preferably a comic.

The sub-titles (in the case of silent) should be prepared in one or two languages with the greatest care, and all expressions of a too technical or pedantic nature should be strictly avoided. Enough time for them to be properly read should be allowed in the projection.

To conclude, the motion picture is the most marvellous instrument for popular education, but in order that it may reach a maximum of efficiency and utility in the countryside, the organs which make use of it should give due weight in their projections to professional, moral, family, social and reactional questions in order to stimulate the amelioration of rural life in the highest sense of the term.

THE LATE PROF. MORIZ WINTERNITZ

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When I came to Prague nearly a year ago, one of the warmest welcomes I had was from the veteran Indologist Prof. Winternitz. He showed much interest in the line of my research studies and was always ready to place at my disposal all help that he could give. The range of his scholarship is well known to all who are interested in indological studies, but to those who knew him in private life, he was not only a great scholar, but also a genial friend and the most charming conversationist. He had not been keeping well for some years past; last summer he had a heart-stroke which nearly meant the end, but he recovered and resumed work. In the last letter which I have from him, he wrote: "I have not been very well lately. As soon as I feel better, I hope to see you again." But unfortunately I was denied the pleasure of meeting him again. He had another bad stroke, an injection was given, he said he felt a little better and wanted to sleep. He never awoke from that sleep.

Winternitz was born in Austria in 1863. He started his scholastic career as an ethnologist and studied Sanskrit and Semitic languages in Vienna. His doctoral dissertation on " Marriage rites in ancient India " was of such high order, that it was given the honour of publication in the Journal of the Vienna Academy of Sciences. Then he went to Oxford for ten years, to help Max Müller in editing the Rigveda. In 1902 he became Professor of Ethnology and Indology in the German University at Prague. As a rule, all Indologists are drawn from the ranks of Comparative Philologists, but only in his case were the chairs of Indology and Ethnology vested in the same man. His numerous contributions to Indian studies during recent years are well known, but I may mention here some of his notable earlier publications—Āpastambīya Gribyasūtra (1887); the Mantrapāṭha (1879); A catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit Manuscripts (1902); Cat. of Sans. Mss. in the Bodleian Library, Vol. 2 (1905); A general Index of the Sacred Books of the East (1910—later on republished under the title "A concise Dictionary of Eastern Religions); "What do we know of the Indo-Germans?" (1903); History of Indian Literature (1908-22, subsequently translated into English and published by the University of Calcutta 1927 ff.); Women and War in the light of Ethnology (1917); The Woman in Indian Religions (1920); Religion and Morals (1922); Some Problems of Indian Literature (1925); Buddhism (1911); A new edition of Rolzmann's Indische Sagen (1913); An Essay on Tagore (1936).

Of all his scientific work, the most monumental was of course his three-volume History of Indian Literature which will remain for a long time the standard work on the subject. The second great work, with which his name will be associated. is the critical edition of Mahābhārata, now being published from Poona. Ever since he started his work at Oxford, Winternitz felt the need of a critical edition of the Great Epic, and he himself collected large material on the subject mainly on the basis of South Indian manuscripts. Throughout his life he continually drew the attention of scholars and of the public to this work and it was principally due to his efforts that the vast enterprise of editing the Mahābhārata was undertaken.

Unlike scholars in general, Winternitz' activities extended beyond the narrow bounds of scholarship. He was an ardent advocate of women's rights in society and gave much of his time and energy to writing on the subject. His other great preoccupation was the promotion of world peace; he wrote for the subject and regularly attended all conferences of pacifists; fittingly enough his greatest work was dedicated to Rabindranath Tagore—"Poet, Philosopher, and the Lover of Man." No one among the foreign professors visiting Santiniketan was so enthusiastic about the Visvabharati ideal as he. He always regretted that ill-health prevented him from going to India for a second time as the President of the Orientalists' Congress.

These few lines are written as a tribute to one who was reputed worldwide as a scholar and one who was loved as man by everybody who knew him personally.

At Home and Abroad

Independence of Philippines

President Roosevelt has agreed to the terms of the proposal to advance the date of the complete independence of the Philippines from 1936 to 1938/9. A committee of experts will be appointed to work out details of the revision of the independence programme.

Mussolini in Libya

Mounted on a pure-bred white Arab horse, Signor Mussolini made a triumphal entry into Tripoli in the evening and was greeted with shrill cries of excited Arabs, punctuated by the boom of the saluting artillery. Five thousand people, including many Arab notables, were seated in a special tribune to welcome him. The entry was the climax of the strenuous day starting when he rose at five in the morning and piloted a plane as far as Cirte. The rest of his party numbering about 400, also followed in planes. From Cirte, the journey was continued by cars.

A message from Reuter's correspondent in the Libyan desert brought by a courier, says that a triumphal arch, 120 feet high, in the middle of the desert of Arae Jhila Enorum marking the frontier between Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, was inaugurated by Signor Mussolini at night-time, following the 250 miles' drive at the head of a fleet of 200 cars, Signor Mussolini, followed by General Balbo, Governor of Libya, was the first man to walk and drive underneath the overhead bronze figure of a man illuminated by flames on the summit of the arch, which were visible for miles, Circles of braziers locked into the sky. The Latin inscription engraved on a stone reads: —Gracious son, may thou gaze on nothing greater than the City of Rome.

Search-lights crossed rays in the sky. The Duce and 400 others spent the night in the city of tents which had sprung up in the desert nearby.

A ring of sentries armed with carbines guarded Signor Mussolini. A cheetah was chained outside his marquee in the centre of a camp.

Rights in Spanish Morocco

A *demarche* by the Valencia Government with a view to obtaining British and French assistance in the Spanish conflict, is published by the insurgent authorities at Salamanca.

In appears that Gen. Del Vayo presented a note to Mr. Eden and M. Delbos at Geneva on Feb. 9 offering to cede certain right in the Spanish Morocco in return for help.

Inquiries by Reuter in London show that such a note was received but no reply has yet been sent.

However neither Britain nor France can entertain the proposal for a moment as it will be contrary to the Treaty obligations.

A reply in this sense is likely to be despatched soon.

German Locarno Note

The German Locarno note proposes firstly, that the Belgian neutrality should be guaranteed by Germany, France, Britain and Italy; secondly, that there should be a non-aggression pact between Germany and France with Britain and Italy as guarantors, and co-arbiters to decide the aggressor in the event of a conflict. The four Powers should give identical guarantees to Belgium ; there should be no general staff arrangements unless made openly with all the four Powers ; France should not have a right to transit troops across Belgium under Article 16 of the League Covenant and Belgium should not assist France or any other country under the League Covenant. The Franco-German non-aggression pact should be valid under all circumstances. In other words, Germany does not admit exceptions specifically allowed under the old treaty whereby action under Article 16 of the Covenant was legitimate.

The proposal to make Italy and Britain co-arbiters in the event of aggression was put in the previous German Locarno note and was rejected by Britain. The note thus rejects the whole principle of mutual assistance in the West, particularly the British request that Britain should have her own security guaranteed.

British Locarno Memorandum

Although Germany's reply to the British Locarno memorandum will probably be presented shortly, it is not expected appreciably to advance negotiations towards a western pact. The note will probably contain objections that Britain and France are not willing to release Belgium from the one-sided Locarno Pact, although Herr Hitler has given guarantees to Belgium, Holland and Switzerland in various guises, and also that the Franco-Soviet Pact is still in existence Both objections would have to be removed, before any progress could be made towards a western pact.

A semi-official communique emphasises that a western pact must purely be a western pact. Germany would not make objections to it provided various European Powers abolish the principle of military assistance to one another, and strive for honest peace guarantees.

The communique does not define what Germany would consider as honest peace guarantees.

Godless League in Russia

The end of the anti-God movement in Soviet Russia is fore-shadowed in an official statement issued here to-day. The membership of the principal militant Godless League has fallen from 5,000,000 in 1933 to below 2,000,000.

Many anti-religious organizations are threatened with disintegration. The Commissariat of Education has closed five anti-religious museums in the provinces and the Komsomol has abandoned its anti-religious efforts in many parts.

Encouraged by the freedom of worship guaranteed under the new constitution, the Church is beginning a new 'drive.'

Turkey's Defence Plans

In the event of general mobilization Turkish women, as well as men, will be called up for military service.

This is, in substance, the effect of a bill which is being submitted for approval by the Council of Ministers of the Great National Assembly.

The existing law on military service lays down that all males from 20-45 years of age are soldiers.

The new Bill specially states that, in the event of war, all Turkish citizens—men, women and children—between the ages of 16 and 65 must serve their country in some capacity.

No definite decision has yet been taken with regard to the drafting and arming of women but the Council of Ministers are working out details regulating these considerations

Women will probably be classified for mobilization under the following heads: 1. Married women with children ; 2. Married women without children ; 3. Women engaged in essential national services ; 4. Unsupported women ; 5. Working women.

The duties assigned to each Turkish woman will apparently vary according to which category she belongs, but every fit woman will have "to do her duty" in one way or another.

Unmarried women and girls of military age will be called up unconditionally and will serve under the same conditions as men, as they will have received a military training during their school-days.

It is thought, however, that the new regulations will provide for the enrolment of women mainly in anti-aircraft units and auxiliary services as well as in hospitals.

It is to be noted that under a decree published by the Ministry of Public Education at the beginning of the present year, Turkish boys and girls are undergoing compulsory military training as part of their school-curriculum. They are being trained in arms drill and military exercises, as well as nursing and anti-gas precautions. The instruction is being given twice weekly by army-officer "specialists." Each student will be expected to obtain at least 60 per cent. in the final examination to obtain the necessary military certificate.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to cultural and academic institutions, events and movements in India and Outside.]

Collection of Economic Data

The creation of separate economic intelligence organization at the headquarters of the Government of India, under the direction of the economic adviser to the Government of India, was one of the several important proposals approved by the Standing Finance Committee at their meeting held recently.

Allied to this was the setting up of a central statistical organization, under the Director of Statistics which would take over the work at present done by the statistical side of the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics at Calcutta and transference of this work to Delhi.

The functions of the economic intelligence organization will be the collection and study of all economic information bearing or likely to bear on India's economic welfare and the supply of information and advice to the Government.

Women's University

With reference to the grants-in-aid to the Indian Women's University, Bombay, the Government of India were advised that the University deserved encouragement because of its departure from the purely literary tradition and its efforts to extent its practical courses of Instruction to different parts of India. The Committee accordingly approved the grant of Rs. 50,000 for the erection of new buildings.

Statistical Research

In regard to commercial intelligence and statistics, approval had been given in 1933 to the Director-General being stationed in Delhi and the creation under him of a new statistical research branch. This was intended to be the nucleus of the centralized branch of a Statistical Research Bureau.

In the following year two experts recommended the establishment of a permanent economic staff at Delhi with four members, three of whom were to be trained economists and the fourth a statistician. This was felt to be an ambitious scheme, but it was realized that the existing statistical commercial intelligence organization was wholly inadequate.

The central statistical organization which will now be set up will take over the work of compilation from Calcutta without immediate change in the existing method and the scope of work, though this would be capable of gradual expansion as various departments of the Government of India developed their statistical requirements and as the need for collection of more comprehensive statistical data arose.

The Committee added a rider to the effect that the public would continue to obtain information from the Commercial Intelligence and Statistics Departments as heretofore. A rough estimate of Rs. 90,000 annually was made.

Indian Civil Service

Following the announcement made on April 27, 1936, in regard to the restriction on vacanies open to Indians competing for the Indian Civil Service in London, the India Office announces that twelve vacancies will be filled by appointment from Indians competing in this year's London examination provided that a sufficient number of suitably qualified Indian candidates offer themselves for appointment.

Next Principal of Islamia College

It is understood that Dr. W. A. Jenkins is going to be appointed Principal of Islamia College, Calcutta, from about the middle of May.

Unemployment Relief in C. P.

An important step has been taken by the Central Provinces Government with a view to dealing with the problem of educated unemployment in the Province.

An Advisory Committee, composed of 14 members, has been established for a period of 5 years. It will start functioning immediately after the inauguration of the new Constitution in the Province and will advice the Government on all matters relating to educated unemployment and act as an information bureau regarding employment. To begin with, the Government desires that the Committee should first of all advise them on the recommendations made by each department in the report of the Unemployment Committee presided over by Sir T. B. Sapru in the United Provinces.

The Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University is the Chairman of the Committee, which will consist of the Directors of Public Instruction and Agriculture, the Principal of one College, Manager of one of the Cotton Mills, one representative of the Manganese mining industry, another of the Coal mining industry, two representatives of the Provincial Legislative Assembly, four non-officials, one from each division, with the Director of Industries as Secretary. These together with the Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University will make a total of 14 members.

It is expected that the Committee will meet shortly and appoint a small sub-committee to manage the information bureau and generally to assist it in the performance of its functions.

There is general satisfaction at the decision of the Government to render every possible assistance to the educated youths in the province and the hope is expressed that the machinery set in motion simultaneously with the introduction of new Constitution to minimise as far as possible the acuteness of unemployment will produce good results.

Aeronautics in Allahabad University

It is understood that the University of Allahabad has included aeronautics as a subject for the B.Sc. Honours course; effect will be given to this decision of the University with the beginning of the next session in July. It is estimated that a course of 12 lectures on the subject will be sufficient and the first examination in the subject will be held in 1940.

The aeronautics course was prepared in consultation with Mr. S. M. Aly, aerodrome officer. He had offered to deliver the lectures, but as he has been transferred to Karachi, it is understood that the University authorities will move to place Mr. Aly's services at their diposal for delivering the course of lectures during the session.

Miscellany

RELIGION, SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL[1]

While discussing the problems and methods of futuristic reconstructions in the domain of religion it would be quite worth while to orient ourselves to some of the factual and objective realities in the modern religions of the world. The most outstanding fact of the present day is to be found in the remarkable progress of mankind in the religious consciousness. The growth and expansion of liberalism, toleration and wide-awakeness have to be recognized as some of the profoundest ingredients in the actual religious behaviour and sentiments of nations. Mankind is to-day more religious, more tolerant, more spiritual and more appreciative than it ever was.

Even half a century ago, say, about the time that the Parliament of Religions was convened at Chicago (1893) the Christian was exclusively a Christian and hardly anything else. During those days the Moslem was likewise merely Moslem and Moslem only. It was difficult, nay, impossible for him to be at the same time something other than Moslem. The psychological attitudes of the Hindu were similar. The Hindu was nothing but Hindu.

But in the course of the last fifty years the religious ideologies and orientations of men and women in the East and the West have undergone a considerable transformation. To-day the Christian Bible is quoted in season and out of season by the Buddhists, the Zoroastrians, the Moslems and the Hindus. The Chinese *Tao-te-ching* and the Indian *Gita* on the other hand, constitute the daily food of hundreds of thousands of Germans, French, Italians, Englishmen and Americans. And the Hindus are likewise inclined to cite verses from the *Koran* in the interest of their day-to-day moral life. The appreciation of other peoples' faiths, sacred books and inspiring messages constitutes the most abiding fact in the psycho-social *milieu* of the last generation or so. The Hindu has grown into the Christian and the Moslem just as the Christian and the Moslem have grown into the Hindu. Without formal conversion or even consciousness as to the fact of the change the silent absorption of other faiths by men and women in the different corners of the globe is a stupendous reality of the modern religions.

The second great reality is to be observed in the methods by which this tremendous transformation,—this mutual conversion on an international scale—has been consummated. The Christian has deliberately and self-consciously chosen to translate and assimilate the non-Christian texts for his own moral and spiritual expansion. The attempts of the Hindu to imbibe life-building forces from the non-Hindu world are no less deliberate and purposive. And so on with the Confucianists, Mussalmans, Buddhists, Zoroastrians and others.

The process seems to be confined formally to the literary, aesthetic, nay, archaeological, philological, and anthropological fields. But the impact of these innocent intellectual and scientific interests on the religious and deeply spiritual foundations of the investigators, researchers and scientists and on large groups of their countrymen has been revolutionary. The Christian has been trying in a conscious manner to change his tradition, modify his society and transform his past, and add something new to his inheritances. In the Hindu world also the efforts to improve upon the past, the society, and the tradition and to recreate the moral and social surroundings, are equally patent.

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[1] Lecture at the closing session of the Parliament of Religions, Calcutta (Ramkrishna Centenary) on March 8, 1937.

During all these years mankind has been functioning both in the East and the West as the recreator of its heritage. It is the purposive, goalful and self-determined initiative of individual men and women, endowed as they are with creative intelligence and will, that has been prominent in the psycho-social remakings of recent years. Man has been rising to the full stature of his spiritual being by refusing to allow the society and the tradition, embodying as they do the past, to shape the destiny of the present generation. On the other hand, man has been trying to demolish the tradition, the society and the past and shatter them to pieces or rather enrich them with the new creations of his self-conscious personality. The region, the climate, the race, the historic legacy, the custom and the tradition have therefore been retiring more and more into the background of religious institutions and conduct and are being replaced by the experiments, assimilations, absorptions, discoveries and inventions of to-day. It is the enormous expansion of man's individuality and creativeness that is responsible for the transformation of the society and the tradition in Christendom as much as in Hindustan, China, and the rest of the world. And in the interest of further progress in matters religious we should have to build on these demonstrable realities of the expansion in liberalism and toleration consummated up till now.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR.

THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF PROGRESSIVE PEACE

Even in the most prosperous countries there is no such thing as absolute prosperity. Certain individuals are more prosperous than others. And the most prosperous individuals are looking for greater and greater doses of prosperity. Indeed, prosperity is a relative phenomenon. Corresponding to relative prosperity there is such a thing as relative freedom. And since it is possible that freedom and prosperity may vary in extensity and intensity from epoch to epoch even in the same country both have to be taken as progressive. It is on such considerations of progressivism in human, social and moral developments that optimism can have a secure foundation. World-peace also is a relative and a progressive consummation. And it is being brought about by diverse agencies.

Economic relations are not yet in a position to induce the establishment of the so-called world-state. The diverse races of men are likely long to remain members of a polycentric political organization.

The occasions for conflict between these members will have therefore to be envisaged as international possibilities. But all the same, thanks to economic developments, the world is in for a system of progressive and relative peace. And even under conditions of strife it should be reasonable to get oriented to the expansion of peace-areas both in territorial dimensions as well as in the interest of life.

One of the latest developments in the world's monetary affairs is to be seen in the decision that the Chinese currency is to be pegged on to the British. This is an index to the great reality that no matter what be the political relations between nations, commercial transactions by themselves are powerful enough to induce currency unions, thereby fostering, if not peace in the entire world, at any rate, a partial world-peace. Such relative world-peace is to be observed in the establishment of four or five currency-unions, such as the French Imperial, American, Russian, Japanese and German outside of the British system.

A world-embracing free trade regime is out of the question for some long time. But free trade, confined to more or less extensive regions of the world is already a reality. The world-economy to-day by encouraging the system of such preferential tariff unions has been bidding fair to be a promoter of relative world-peace.

The regime of technocracy has been no mean factor in the establishment of economic "interpendence." Technical developments, promoting automatically, as they do, world-unification have been intimately associated with international agreements. The international marine and river legislation since the beginning of the nineteenth century has not failed to foster peace among nations on a considerable scale. Since the establishment of the General Telegraph Union in 1865 and the World Postal Union in 1875 the communication-technique of the nations has been placed on an international peace basis and tremendously rationalized. The International Monetary Conferences during the third generation of the nineteenth century served to generate forces such as were incalculable for world-peace. The organizations that were brought into being in order to implement the recommendations of those international associations or conferences were nuclei of economic rationalization and functioned each somewhat like a League of Nations. The economic functions of the League of Nations of our own times including the activities of the International Labour Office will have likewise to be appraised as some of the most solid foundations of progressive world-peace.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR.

THE OCCUPATIONAL ADVISERS OF NEW GERMANY

Since the close of the business year 1932-33, the calls made upon the Occupational Advisory Boards for assistance have trebled in number. Between July, 1935 and June, 1936, more than one million persons sought the advice of the public Occupational Advisory Boards as established by the Labour Bureaus. During the year 1932-33, the number of such persons amounted to 394,278; in 1933-34, 600,518; and in 1934-35, about 800,000. The apparent reason for this rapid increase is to be found first of all in the utterly changed attitude towards certain kinds of occupation in the minds of the German people. Before the days of National Socialism, a considerable number of occupations were regarded as inferior or degrading, until Adolf Hitler, on the occasion of National Labour Days, and at many other public gatherings, repeatedly laid the greatest emphasis on the absolute equality of all honest labour, whether performed by the hands or by the brain. The leader of the German Labour Front Organization, Dr. Ley has spoken in the same way, with the result that no kind of labour which is useful to the community is any more looked upon as "dirty" or "not genteel" as was the case with many occupations according to former public opinion.

The increased amount of work done by the Advisory Boards is further due to the creation of much larger number of apprentice positions and employment coupled with instruction in " learning the business." In 1935, about 355,000 apprenticeships and 59,400 cases of employment with instruction, were reported to the Advisory Boards, or about 100,000 more than during the previous year. During the current year it is probable that this number will still further increase, on account of the ordinance issued by the Deputy in charge of the Four Year Plan, General Goering, to the effect that all business concerns and plants employing ten or more workmen, must take on a proportionate number of additional apprentices. As a matter of fact, the demand for skilled workmen, especially in such key industries as the building and metal trades, has not yet been entirely supplied out of the younger generation, notwithstanding the increased number of apprentice positions which have been made available.

During the last two years, also the close co-operation between the Hitler Youth Organization and the Occupational Advisory Boards has served to establish confidence on the part of the younger generation in these Boards. Many of the more mature leaders of the Hitler Youth Organization has been appointed to serve on these boards by the Labour Bureaus. Furthermore, members of the Advisory Boards frequently act as officials of the Hitler Youth.

It is worth while to note the decided increase in the satisfactorily passed " tests for fitness " or "general qualifications tests." These amounted to 68,000 in 1932-33, and to 133,000 in 1935-36. It had been feared that under the influence of the so-called " anti-rational " tendencies of National Socialism, the employment of "rational " methods in testing general fitness and adaptibility would decrease. The contrary has been the case. For the year reported, one youth in every six has been so tested. New Germany continues to employ " rational " methods wherever they are in place.

The successful carrying on of this occupational advisory work and the providing of apprentice positions, naturally depends upon the ability of the occupational adviser to keep in close touch with the employment situation and the available apprenticeships open. This law co-ordinates the work of procuring employment and that of giving occupational advice.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR.

SOCIAL INSURANCE IN ITALY

The Head of the Government has recently given an audience to Deputy Biagi, who submitted to him a report on the work of the National Fascist Institute of Social Insurance. Deputy Biagi, who is President of the Institute, is at present also discharging the functions of Director General.

Deputy Biagi reported, *inter alia*, on the steps now being taken to improve the general administration of the Institute, both in its central and also in its local organs, in order to provide that its policy of assistential and provident schemes should be carried out more expeditiously and systematically and also more effectively, having regard to the recent increase in the attributions now assigned to this organ.

Among the latter special reference was made to the institution of the system of family allowances, which is already in operation for industrial workers and was extended as from 1 January (1937), to workers in trade and employees in credit and insurance offices. This extension stands in close relation to the latest increase in the unemployment subsidy for workers, who have dependent upon them children under fifteen years of age or incapacitated for work, thus strictly complying with the policy of the regime with regard to the question of population.

Deputy Biagi then supplied figures to show the sound financial position of the Institute and also the principles which had been adopted as regards its future investments by the Council of Administration. At the same time he referred to the increase in assets resulting from the insurance contributions, which in 1936 reached a total of 853,000,000 lires thus showing an increase of 55,000,000 lires as compared with the previous year.

Benefits in 1936 also showed an increase in accordance with anticipation, the expenditure which in 1935 amounted to 964,000,000 having risen to 1,060,000,000 lires. This total includes: 475,000,000 lires for old age and invalidity pensions; aid to turberculous subjects and their families, 153,000,000 lires ; unemployment benefit, 130,000,000 lires.

The Institute, which has initiated a movement in favour of the settlement of population in Libya, is now about to extend antituberculosis insurance to this Colony. In Italian East Africa provision has been made for the organization of services, in accordance with local requirements, in the sphere of social insurance and also in that of the work of assistance.

Deputy Biagi in conclusion presented the *Duce* with a sum of one million lires contributied by the Institute for marriage premiums as desired by the National Fascist Party.—*News Notes on Fascist Corporations* (Rome.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ON POPULATION

Benjamin Franklin's (1706-90) influence on Malthus is certain and known ; on Adam Smith problematical but known; on Francis Place certain and unknown.

It is well known that forty-seven years before Malthus, Franklin, in his *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind and the Peopling of Countries* (1751), pointed out: (1) that populations have a physiological capacity for rapid increase; (2) that population tends to double every twenty-five years in America; (3) that city populations reproduce less rapidly than rural populations ; (4) that those in higher economic status are more prudent about entering upon early marriages than those of lower status. Adam Smith accepted Franklin's views with reference to increase in the colonies ; and Malthus specially mentioned indebtedness to Smith and Franklin.

Franklin, whom Wetzel has described as "the first American who deserves to be dignified by the title Economist," was quite possibly the first American to estimate rates of population increase on the basis of a simple differential between births and deaths. He estimated a doubling every twenty-five years; and it seems probable that this idea, so well associated with the name of Malthus, should rather be credited to Franklin. Problematical as its value may be in assisting to demonstrate the validity of the Malthusian theory, it was a good first approximation on the rate of increase current at the time in the American colonies.

In understanding so clearly that depopulation resulting from war and famine is soon overcome by natural growth, Franklin anticipated several modern writers, among them Raymond Pearl and J. Sanders, who have elaborated and proved the point statistically. Franklin, Malthus and Place seem to have agreed that once population had bred up to the means of subsistence further increase was impossible.

Malthus followed Franklin in the view that population pressure caused a diffusion of people over the surface of the earth. In another respect Franklin anticipated Malthus to some extent. Opposing the English poor laws, Franklin wanted the Colonies to avoid similar enactments. Likewise he opposed the French foundling asylums.

It is highly probable that Franklin gave Francis Place (1771-1854), the founder of the modern birth-control movement, new arguments on the social advantages of early marriages. Franklin was not a birth-controller. But indirectly he assisted Place, and thus forwarded the genesis of the English birth-control movement. For Place, in reacting from Malthus' remedy of postponed marriage, and in recommending early marriage with contraception, took over arguments which he found in the published works of Franklin.

Franklin's doctrines on early marriage were taken over by Place. How Place started the English birth-control movement in 1823, and how he helped Robert Dale Owen and Charles Knowlton initiate it in the United States are separate and long stories.—Norman E. Himes in *Economic History* (London).

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR.

THE NATIONALITY QUESTION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The solution of the nationality problem in Czechoslovakia is likely to be of interest to the students of similar questions in India. In the third week of February (1937) the representatives of the German minority got an undertaking from the Czechoslovak Government to the effect that some of their demands were just and would be met at once. The results of the agreement may be indicated below.

1. In regard to investments by the Government in public work, etc., due importance is to be attached to the diversity of regional and national conditions. This principle is to be observed by each one of the ministries so that adequate chances be thrown open to German employers and working men. The German ministers also are entitled to observe this principle as well as to watch and control its enforcement.

2. The right of the Germans to the Government services is recognized and the principle is admitted that their proportion in the services should correspond to their proportion in the population. In the judicial and educational services this proportion has already been in force for some long time. The situation is not yet so favourable in the political and finance departments. The appointment of young Germans in these services is therefore being sanctioned. A certain number of higher appointments and special posts on account of outstanding qualifications is also being assured to the Germans.

3. The Government grant for the protection of German children and welfare of German youths is being augmented. Aids to other German institutions of social service are likewise being increased,

4. State aid to the German theatres, German art-institutes, German scientific associations and German student welfare is being increased to such an extent that it constitutes about twenty per cent. of the entire Government disbursements on these items.

5 The political and finance offices are being authorized to be bilingual in their business transactions in all German towns with less than 3,000 inhabitants. A German translation is to be added to every ordinance and decree pertaining to these territories.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Dangers of being Human: By Edward Glover; with an Introduction by the Very Reverend W. R. Inge (George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 5s. net ; pp. 206).

This thought-provoking book is a collection of broadcast talks given under the auspices of the British Broadcasting Corporation. The author who is the Director of the London Institute of Psychoanalysis applies his science to some of the social, political and international problems of modern civilisation.

The author contends that behind man's facade of rational behaviour there exists in an active condition a more compulsive and essentially primitive irrational mental structure. Despite his protests to the contrary, man regulates his individual and social life by means of a primitive apparatus—an archaic mind. But we are so accustomed to regard ourselves as rational creatures that we resist vigorously any suggestion that our minds are influenced by irrational fears and superstition. As Dean Inge has put it : "Man who began as an ape afflicted with megalomania, is now essentially a savage who fancies himself civilised. Hence the danger. He calls himself *hamo sapiens*, a title which he has done little to earn. His tastes are those of a savage suitably watered down."

In the light of this theory the author surveys the problems of crime, war, pacifism, politics and education, concluding with some conjectures as to the form of society in a thousand years, time. There are two appendices of particular interest—' A Note on the League of Nations' and 'How to vote at General Election.'

The more sensational discoveries regarding crime are these: it has been proved, the author argues, that adult crime in civilised communities is due much more frequently than is supposed, to the unconscious persistence of fears and emotional conflicts of childhood ; secondly, the fears discovered on analysis of the average compulsive criminal prove to be mainly of the animistic type, that is to say, they are irrational fears of injury or persecution. Most important of all, it has been proved that many types of criminal conduct can be cured by relieving these unconscious fears. Accurate statistics, argues our author, are not yet available, but it may be taken that other causes having been eliminated, the number of criminals curable by psychological treatment is roughly, equal to the number of neurotic persons curable by the same means. Punishment in such cases may repeat crime ; it may, indeed, perpetuate crime ; it will never cure crime. Further, crime is a social product, the result of the interaction of social forces and conditions. Society, therefore, has little justification for adopting a superior attitude to the criminal in its midst. Here is a social and psychological interpretation of crime which ought to engage the attention not only of the social psychologist but also of practical statesmen and legislators.

The author likewise lays emphasis on the psychological causes of war and minimises the importance of political, economic, racial and cultural factors in the causation of international conflicts. Love, fear and greed which played so important a part in group conflicts in primitive times are still the most prolific sources of war. We indeed come across an analysis of human motives similar to those of Machiavelli and Hobbes. The primal instincts of man are as alive and as explosive as they used to be in the dim past. If war is to be eliminated the possibility of the "frustration of man's own instincts" has to be properly dealt with. The measures directed at controlling the instruments of war are of little significance compared with those aimed at alleviating the fears of nations at the present moment. The author therefore blames both the pacifists and the militarists for their inability to go to the root of the problem. A good deal of confused thinking as to international peace may indeed be eliminated by recognising the hard, basic facts of human nature to which the author draws our attention.

The author's psychological interpretation of politics is equally interesting. "Ideally speaking politics is simply a form of applied science, applied sociology—a science of human relations. But such applied sociology is in such a backward state that modern politics should rather be regarded as the sanctuary of unreason." It thrives on 'insane fear' the chief instrument in the hands of the primitive priest, medicine man and witch doctor. The parrot cries of parliamentary election, the 'inspiring' speeches of political wizards, the suggestions and counter-suggestions, the appeal to the prestige of leaders, to ignorance, cupidity, jealousy, fear, combativeness or plain hate ; the thousand and one tricks of innuendo which indicate to what primitive levels political leaders and newspaper editors sink—are rightly held up to ridicule by the author. They go to show, according to the author the strength of the primal instincts inherent in man.

Antagonism of parties and schools of thought in the struggle for power is not to be regarded, as the rational historian tells us, as merely incidental to the movements. "The psychologist maintains that the outbursts are not simply the outcome of bad politics but happen when politics do not drain off or satisfy unconscious aggression. In addition, politics gratify in a very realistic way the personal antagonisms of the elector ; family hatreds and jealousies, fear of the older or the younger generations, antagonism between the sexes and a multitude of other reactions which do not get free expressions in individual life. In short political activity is a spontaneous form of psychotherapy for the group."

Communism, one of the two rival creeds of the moment is also examined from the psychological point of view. The communist interpretation of history is almost exclusively in terms of economic relations between the individual and the state. The communist does not deny that man has other interests, but the regulation of these interests in a communist state is, in theory, secondary to economic organisation or necessity. Translating all these into psychological terms we may say that the communist recognises only one primary interest, the instinct of self-preservation. "Hence it is doomed to failure ; because no political party can hope to remain a permanent influence which does not pay as much attention to man's love, needs and hate tensions, in other words to his conflicts, as it does to the instincts of self-preservation." It is difficult to agree with the author here, inasmuch as he seems unwilling to recognise that social institutions may be devised within the frame work of communism which may cater, in a sublimated way, for the other instincts besides the instinct for self-preservation mentioned by the author.

The importance of the author's theory of education, nothing new or startling, cannot be overemphasised. "We actually do behave towards children as if they were possessed of the devil, and as if it were our duty to drive this devil out." The main obstacles of a humane attitude in education are fear, guilt and a compulsion to reform or punish others. From the moment of birth, the infant is surrounded by influential figures who make it their business to inhibit, check, reprove and punish, and by the time he has reached the age of formal school education, the child has been treated for some years as if he were a dangerous enemy rather than the offspring of parental love. "The acid test of a civilisation is its attitude to children. Not merely because the child holds in its hands the key to all future civilisation, but because from our attitude to children we can gather what our real attitude is to our own unconscious instinct life." The real remedy of the evils the world suffers from lies largely in a well regulated system of education. Instead of check, reproof and punishment we must above everything else extend freedom to our children. The conclusion is best stated in the words of the author: "After all, think what are actually the problems of mankind. What is war but an outbreak of primitive defences against our own fear and hate? What is compulsive crime but fear masquerading as rebellion? Why does the world or any one country, periodically fall into states of depression? Because owing to fear we cannot use our brains. What are unhappiness and mental ill-health but the clash of primitive guilts with current modes of satisfying instincts? How can we hope to break any of these vicious circles so long as willingly or unwillingly we drive our children sheep-like into the same pens? Here is the real issue of human politics." Freedom is the basis of child education. In his emphasion on freedom, however, our author goes further than the distinguished German psycho-analyst and sociologist Fritz Wittels who is of opinion that absolute libertarianism in education is utopian; but let us reduce our interference with childrens freedom to a minimum."

In his chapter on 'A thousand years on' the author lays emphasis on the need for a new ideology in education. Civilisation a thousand years hence will not differ very much from our own if we do nothing to alter the fundamental mechanism of adult mind. If we succeed in eliminating irrational fears and thus give a fresh impetus to adaptation, then only there is a chance of a better civilisation being evolved. The only way of reducing adult fear is to diminish the fears of children. And it is a problem of upbringing and education. Child rearing—the oldest, most honoured and most skilled of human professions '—has, therefore, to be cultivated on proper lines. The child must be ensured an environmental setting as free as possible from harassing anxieties. By this means there will be some chance of reducing the sadistic influences brought to bear on the child. In psycho-analytic utopia the increasing tendency to delegate the upbringing of children to the state or specialists must be stopped. For the first four to five years the parents must take proper charge of the children's upbringing. The state and economic institutions must be prepared to provide the parents with adequate leisure for the fulfilment of the foremost of social duties—rearing of children. Another step would be the breaking up of mass education for children. "If there are still city streets in Utopia, then every fourth house in those streets will be a school for children between the ages of four and seven, with a maximum of ten children and staff of four, of whom two will themselves be children about the age of puberty." Here is a cut and dried scheme; we may not agree with this psycho-analytical system of education in all its details; but there is no doubt that generally speaking, it points to the right direction and is fraught with immense possibilities.

'The note on the League of Nations' exposes the hollowness of idealistic talk indulged in by the members of the League. "If anything is clear in this complicated world it is clear that the League is a convenient cover for the self-interest of all the nations concerned." The author, however, treads on controversial ground when he regrets that "leagues could have been arranged in terms of standard of civilisation, of geographical or racial relation, of actual or potential power, of religious principle, or of self-preservative organisation. The factors of geographical and racial relations in particular ought to have been examined." Few will, probably, deny that if the League were organised on the lines suggested by the author the situation would go from bad to worse.

The incisive style of writing adds considerably to the force of the author's thesis in respect of the various problems he touches. It is a remarkably able and clear contribution and ought to engage the attention of all concerned with social philosophy. The author possesses powers of popularising thought which does not easily lend itself to 'popular' treatment.

N. C. BHATTACHARYYA

Ourselves

[I. The Late MM. Kamakhyanath Tarkabagish.—II. Professor W. S. Urquhart.—III. Special Readership Lectures.—IV. University Men in the Bengal Cabinet.—V. Guidance Course Lecture at Darbhanga Hall.—VI. Social Hygiene Congress in London.—VII. University Representatives on the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dacca.—VIII. University Delegate to International Parliament of Religions.—IX. University Representative on the State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine.—X. Added Members of Faculties.—XI. I. E. and B. E. Examinations, 1937.—XII. Hooghly Mohsin College.—XIII. Centre for Military Training.—XIV. Mr. Justice Khundkar.—XV. Speaker of Bengal Assembly.]

I. THE LATE MM. KAMAKHYANATH TARKABAGISH.

We deeply grieve to learn that Mahamahopadhyaya Kamakhyanath Tarkabagish is no more,—Kamakhyanath, the shining light of Nabya Nyaya in India ! With him has passed away the last of that glorious band of Bengalee philosophers whose wisdom has shed lustre on the fair name of educated India. For years recognised as a creative interpreter in Nabya Nyaya, the most abstruse subject in the domain of Hindu Philosophy, Kamakhyanath worthily maintained to the last day of his life the dignity of that hard philosophy which is pre-eminently a gift of the Bengalee intellect. His edition of the *Kusumāñjali* and the *Tattvacintāmani*, two masterly productions which won for him the laurels among philosophers, are abiding testimony to his great erudition and originality.

As an examiner he was connected with this University for a number of years. He was also distinguished as Professor of Sanskrit College, Calcutta, as an Honorary Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, as President of the Calcutta Pandit Sabha, as a member of the Board of Bengal Sanskrit Association and as Vice-President of the Nabadwip Bibudha-jananī Sabhā. Up to the time of his death at the ripe old age of 93, he held the post of Senior Professor of Nyaya at Nabadwip. Among the great scholars who sat at his feet the most distinguished were the late Mahamahopadhyaya Asutosh Sastri and the late Mahamahopadhyaya Bhagavatkumar Sastri.

By the demise of Kamakhyanath the country has suffered an irreparable loss, specially Nabadwip, the nursery of Nabya Nyaya. We do not know on whom the mantle of the great philosopher will fall !

* * *

II. PROFESSOR W. S. URQUHART.

After a distinguished career embracing about three decades, the Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.LITT., D.D., D.L., Principal, Scottish Church College, is retiring this month from service which has been as long as eventful. At the moment, the thought that comes uppermost in our mind is his connection with this Journal, a connection which dates back to a time long before it was taken over by this University. His equipment as a teacher of Philosophy had early distinguished him in his writings contributed to the REVIEW, which at once revealed him as an original thinker in matters educational. Besides being our Editor-in-chief for an appreciable length of time, he has served this University with distinction as a Fellow and a member of the Syndicate for over twenty years and as Vice-Chancellor for one term. His short term in the Vice-Chancellorship will be remembered as a strenuous one, for it witnessed some of the great changes in University administration and Post-Graduate Teaching, which were brought about through the labours of the Organisation Committee of the Senate, of which he was at first a member and then the Chairman. It is too early yet to gauge the value of his contribution, but his endeavours in the Committee will always be remembered as characteristically shrewd and tenacious. Succeeding Principal Watt as Head of the institution, he has done much for his college, the affairs of which he has administered with care and caution for over a decade and a half. As a Post-Graduate lecturer of the part-time character he has had a successful record, as the numerous graduates of distinction who sat at his feet for philosophical studies will testify.

Of his work as a missionary we are not competent to speak. But the fact remains that he is very popular with the students, both old and new, who are commemorating their association with their beloved teacher in a manner befitting the good old tradition of India. If renewing old memories and associations has any value or utility to be cherished, we are sure the thoughts of Professor Urquhart in his retirement will happily turn at least for a moment every day to the blissful surroundings amidst which he passed the greater part of his life out here and gained that rare and consummate Vision of the World which is only possible through contact and assimilation.

May he enjoy a long and peaceful life ! Part as he must, we wish him a *bon voyage.*

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III. SPECIAL READERSHIP LECTURES.

The Syndicate have recommended to the Senate that Professor R. A. Fisher, D.SC., F.R.S., be appointed a Special Reader to deliver a course of lectures on "Mathematical Statistics.' We give below a short account of the work done by Prof. Fisher in the domain of Higher Mathematics.

Prof. R. A. Fisher, formerly Mathematical Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, is at present the Galton Professor of Mathematics in the University of London. His paper on the " Frequency Distribution of the values of the Correlation Co-efficient " published in 1935 has been the starting point of the modern theory of exact sampling distributions. His memoir "On the Mathematical Foundation of Theoretical Statistics" published in 1921 is classical and his paper on Field Experiments published in 1923 has revolutionised agricultural practice throughout the world. In 1926 Prof. Fisher was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and in 1928 he published his book on the "Genetical Theory of Natural Selection" which gave a new direction to researches in genetics and heredity.

* * *

IV. UNIVERSITY MEN IN THE BENGAL CABINET.

We offer our sincerest congratulations to Mr. Fazlul Huq, Mr. Naliniranjan Sarker, Mr. Mukunda Behari Mallik and Mr. H. S. Subrawardy, for their inclusion in the Bengal Ministry. Mr. Huq is to be specially congratulated on his becoming the first Premier under the Reformed Constitution.

It is gratifying to note that out of the 11 members in the Cabinet four are University men. Though the Ministers belong to different communities and wear different party badges, we fervently hope that they will forget their differences and stand united when the interests of their *alma mater* so demand.

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V. GUIDANCE COURSE LECTURE AT DARBHANGA HALL.

The first of the Vocational Guidance Course of Lectures organised by this University was delivered by Mr. G. L. Mehta of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company at the Darbhanga Hall on the 31st March last. The subject chosen was "Indian Shipping" and the lecture was presided over by Dr. J. P. Niyogi, Minto Professor of Economics.

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VI. SOCIAL HYGIENE CONGRESS IN LONDON.

We are glad to announce that Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy, B.A., M.D., F.R.C.S. (ENG.), M.R.C.P. (LOND.), F.S.M.F. (BENGAL), has been appointed a delegate to represent this University at the Eighth Session of the Imperial and Social Hygiene Congress to be held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, from Monday the 5th July to Friday the 9th July, 1937.

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VII. UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVES ON THE BOARD OF INTERMEDIATE AND SECONDARY EDUCATION, DACCA.

We understand the following gentlemen will represent this University on the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dacca, for 1937-38:—

Prof. Harendracoomar Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.
Pramathanath Banerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A.

* * *

VIII. UNIVERSITY DELEGATE TO INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS.

Under the auspices of the Sri Ramkrishna Centenary Committee, an International Parliament of Religions was held at Calcutta for seven days beginning with the 1st March. Rai Bahadur Professor Khagendranath Mitra represented this University at the function.

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IX. UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVE ON THE STATE FACULTY OF AYURVEDIC MEDICINE.

We are glad to announce that Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy, B.A., M.D., F.R.C.S., M.R.C.P., F.S.M.F. (Bengal), has been nominated to represent this University on the General Council and State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine.

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X. ADDED MEMBERS OF FACULTIES.

The following gentlemen have been elected Added Members to the Faculties of Arts and Science:

FACULTY OF ARTS.

Sarojkumar Das, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.
Amarprasad Dasgupta, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.
Surendramohan Ganguli, Esq., D.Sc.
J. Ghosh, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.
Praphullachandra Ghosh, Esq., M.A., B.L., B.Sc.
Upendranath Ghoshal, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.
Humayun Z. A. Kabir, Esq., M.A. (Oxon.).
Susilkumar Maitra, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.
Prof. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.
Shah Kalimur Rahman, Esq., M.A.

FACULTY OF SCIENCE.

Susilkumar Acharyya, Esq., M.Sc.
Nibaranchandra Bhattacharyya, Esq., M.A., B.Sc.
Saratlal Biswas, Esq., M.Sc.
Prof. Debendramohan Bose, M.A., B.Sc., Ph.D. (Berlin).
P. C. Mahalanobis, Esq., B.Sc., M.A. (Cantab.).
Ladlimohan Mitra, Esq., M.Sc.
Prof. Sisirkumar Mitra, D.Sc.
Prof. Himadrikumar Mookerjee, D.Sc.
N. N. Sen, Esq., D.Sc.
Prof. Nikhilranjan Sen, M.A., Ph.D.

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XI. I. E. AND B. E. EXAMINATIONS, 1937.

The following dates have been fixed for the commencement of the I. E. and B. E. Examinations of 1937:—

I. E., Sec. A B. E., Non-Prof. Section.	6th September, 1937.
I. E., Sec. B. B. E., Prof. Section	8th September, 1937.

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XII. HOOGHLY MOHSIN COLLEGE.

We have been informed that Government have decided that the Hooghly College should be renamed the "Hooghly Mohsin College" with effect from the 1st August, 1937.

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XIII. CENTRE FOR MILITARY TRAINING.

We understand that an appeal for funds for a building to be used as a centre for Physical and Military training, where practical training and lectures in Military studies may be partly held, has been forwarded by the Secretary of Indian Territorial Force Units to the University authorities for a donation and an annual grant.

It is stated that they have been assured of the gift of an adequate area and land by the Government on Porabazar, facing Chowringhee. This gift from the Government and the financial assistance from His Excellency the Chancellor will depend upon what further funds they can raise from public and other institutions such as the University.

Regarding accommodation, it is proposed to have (1) a large central hall with stage and balcony, (2) an officers' club, (3) a library and reading room, (4) a refreshment room, (5) an administration office, (6) an armoury, (7) a large general club and (8) kitchen and menial staff accommodation. Besides these there will be adequate arrangements for outdoor and indoor sports and games and recreation.

It is further stated that the scheme outlined and the building will be for two units, *viz.*, (1) the Calcutta University Training Corps and (2) the proposed 5th Urban Infantry. The present members enrolled in the University Corps and the past members as well will be eligible for membership.

Subject to approval by the Senate, the Syndicate have recommended a sum of Rs. 2,000 for the purpose.

It is suggested that the amount will be paid by the University subject to the condition that the Calcutta University Training Corps is allowed to use the building.

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XIV. THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE KHUNDKAR.

It is gratifying to learn that Mr. Nurul A. Khundkar, M.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-law, Deputy Legal Remembrancer, Bengal, has been elevated to the Bench of the Calcutta High Court. We have special reason to rejoice on this occasion, as Mr. Justice Khundkar was associated with this University not only on its teaching side as a Post-Graduate lecturer in the department of Commerce but also as a contributor to this journal before he left us to join his appointment as Deputy Legal Remembrancer. His lordship has had previous experience at the Bench when he had to act as a judge in a temporary vacancy some time ago. While at the University he had endeared himself to all by his charming personality, breadth of view and inherent goodness—qualities which, we are sure, will stand him in good stead in the discharge of the responsible duties of his exalted office.

We offer our hearty felicitations to Mr. Justice Khundkar.

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XV. SPEAKER OF BENGAL ASSEMBLY.

We sincerely congratulate the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. Azizul Haque, C.I.E., on his being elected Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Bengal. Having served as Education Minister of the Government of Bengal and as a Fellow of this University for a number of years, and with a valuable record of public service prior to that, the Khan Bahadur comes with a ripe experience to preside over the deliberations of the Legislative Assembly of the Province at a time when his task is bound to make a heavy demand on his patience and wisdom and, above all, on his nationalism—qualities, for the full play of which the time is opportune. Knowing him as we do, we hope that he will hold the scales even as long as he will continue to occupy the Chair of the Speaker, the highest office in the gift of the members of the Legislative Assembly. We wish him every success.

BUSINESS NOTES

Oriental Govt. Security Life Assurance Co., Ltd.

The amount of New Life Assurance Business of the "Oriental" for the year 1936 wae as follows :—

56,311 Policies assuring Rs. 10,20,95,496 as compared with 48,858 Policies assuring Rs. 8,89,89,149 in 1935, an increase of 7,453 Policies assuring Rs. 1,37,06.347 over the previous year's Business. Through this result the "Oriental" still maintain their place within the first ten Life Assurance Companies of the British Empire as regards the aggregate amount of Ordinary New Assurance placed on the Books during the year and in point of number of Policies issued the "Oriental" stands fifth among the Companies of the British Empire.

NOTIFICATION

ESSAY COMPETITION—NEW HISTORY SOCIETY

The New History Society offers the sum-total of five thousand dollars to the entire population of the Globe for the best papers of not more than two thousand words on the subject: "How can the People of the World achieve Universal Disarmament?"

First World Prize ...	One thousand dollars.
Second World Prize ...	Six hundred dollars.
Third World Prize ...	Four hundred dollars.

Six Continental prizes of two hundred dollars each will be awarded for the best papers respectively from: Europe; Asia; Africa; Australia and New Zealand; Mexico; South and Central America; North America.

One thousand eight hundred dollars in national prizes of fifty dollars each will be distributed among the contestants of various countries, each country being eligible to more than a single national prize according to the merit of the papers submitted.

CONDITIONS.

1. Time—The competition opens on November 1st, 1936, and closes on May 1st, 1937. The date of May 1st, 1937, indicates the last day on which papers may be posted from any part of the world.

2. Eligibility—The competition is open to the entire population of the Globe, with absolutely no restriction as to age, nationality, race or religion, and regardless of academic affiliations or educational qualifications.

3. Manuscripts—

(a) Papers not to exceed two thousand words.

(b) To be original, unpublished manuscripts, especially written for this competition.

(c) To be typewritten double-spaced, one side of page only being used, with name and address of author appearing on title page and on upper right corner of each succeeding page.

(*d*) In case of typewriting being, in certain parts, impracticable, the New History Society will accept manuscripts in clear, legibile handwriting, each word and letter being easily decipherable. Lack of careful attention to this condition might lead to disqualification.

(*e*) No individual to submit more than one paper.

(*f*) Each contestant is requested to submit two copies of his paper.

(*g*) Each manuscript to be marked ; ' Prize Competition.'

(*h*) No manuscript will be returned ; therefore, it is recommended that authors keep copies in their possession.

(*i*) In view of the labour involved in this undertaking, it is suggested that contestants mail their papers as early as possible.

4. Manuscripts to be addressed to the New History Society—World Competition, 132, East 65th Street, New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

Any further information and the free literature of the Society will readily be supplied on request.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA • ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING •

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1937

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND NON-INTERVENTION.

Madame Ellen Hörup
Geneva.

THE League of Nations has moved into its magnificent new palace. Its objects are the same as in the old one. It is there to get the Covenant respected and to intervene when it is broken. When instead of attending to that the members of the League of Nations resolve not to intervene, the League of Nations in reality has no members, or the members no League of Nations. And the magnificent palace might not have been built.

Non-intervention began in China, where total-war was waged for the first time after the world had got its League of Nations. The Japanese shells and gas-bombs fell over towns crammed with people. They fell on schools, hospitals and homes for the homeless. The representatives of the financial interests of the Great Powers who have seats on the League of Nations could not see there was anything to gain by interfering. They let the bombs fall, the towns burn and the Chinese perish.

It was not called Non-intervention, but that is what it was. For the members of the League of Nations did not know there was a war on. They had simply noticed that in two countries in the Far East there had been a sudden demand for war material, a demand which they conscientiously fulfilled. When the Manchukuo Empire was an established fact they therefore refused to recognize it both *de jure* and *de facto*.

Actually it was only *de jure*. They were obliged to recognize it *de facto*. If they wanted their capital and their commodities placed in the enormous country that was now to be exploited capitalistically, or civilized, whatever may be the term chosen, they naturally had to negotiate with Japan who had captured it, and not with China, who had lost it, or with the " independent " Emperor of Manchukuo.

The next occasion on which the League of Nations experienced the total-war was in Ethiopia. Then it was sometimes non-intervention in favour of the aggressor, sometimes intervention in favour of England. Both were sometimes purely imperialistic without the co-operation of the League of Nations, sometimes imperialistic in conjunction with it.

It began with the agreement at Stresa between the three Great Powers on conditional non-intervention, *i.e.*, an open breach of the Covenant of the League of Nations, where two of its members agree that a third may unimpededly attack a fourth. In order to ensure that the conditions were observed Great Britain sent her fleet into the Mediterranean as a private imperialistic threat of intervention.

As this did not frighten Mussolini, Great Britain walked into the League of Nations again and started sanctions against Italy. They were worthless, for they were not carried through. And even if they had been they would not have been in Ethiopia's favour, but in England's. They had nothing to do with Ethiopia's right as a member of the League of Nations to exist as an independent country.

While England was intervening together with the League of Nations in her own favour, France intervened in Italy's favour, against whom the sanctions were aimed. While the aggressor, Mussolini, supplied himself with everything he needed, the French at Djibouti held everything back that should have gone to the Negus by the French railway. When at the close of April 259 tons of poison gas had gone through the Suez Canal the Committee of Thirteen (the League of Nations without Italy's delegate) asked the International Red Cross to send in a report on the action of the gas. But the President, the Swiss professor Max Huber, refused. It turned out later that the professor was also president of a large concern which receives its raw materials from Italy and which has invested almost 34 millions, more than half of its foreign capital investments, in Italy.

During the League sanctions, which apparently were directed against Italy as the aggressor against Ethiopia, came the Laval-Hoare proposal which divided up Ethiopia in favour of the Great Powers. Laval fell, and Hoare fell, and, accompanied by the expectant cheers of the crowd, Mr. Eden came along in his swan-boat on the wave of popular indignation to fight for the League of Nations, the Covenant, collectivity and wronged Ethiopia.

The fight ended in defeat of everything Mr. Eden was to save ; the sanctions collapsed of themselves. Ethiopia was erased from the map and handed over as a colony to the murderous pacification of the Italian Empire. But the storm of indignation had died down, and in calm water Mr. Eden was able to sail back to his island home. Hoare was rehabilitated and was given another portfolio, and the honour of Laval was saved.

Everything was well, except that in Geneva Avenol, the Secretary General of the League of Nations, stood gazing with yearning eyes in the direction of the land with the blue sky, where the oranges glow and where the laurels grow. And as the expected did not come, M. Avenol himself set out. He longed to know what Mussolini demanded for returning to the League of Nations whose member, Ethiopia, he had just extinguished and whose representative was Secretary General Avenol.

In this murder of one of its members the League of Nations went a little farther in its indulgence towards the murderer than in the China-Japan war. It acknowledged Italy's conquest *de facto*, but not *de jure*. This nuance means that although Ethiopia is effaced from the map of the world, it is still a member of the League. As far as Ethiopia is concerned the only effect will probably be that the Negus goes to London to be present at the coronation ceremony instead of Mussolini's son-in-law Count Ciano.

The total-war comes near and nearer. It is now so near that most countries in Europe are taking part in it in one way or another. From China *via* Ethiopia it has reached Spain.

The League of Nations regards the war in Spain as not being its concern. This time Non-intervention has been delegated to a committee sitting in London. In that committee, where of course the two democratic Powers, England and France, have most to say, this non-intervention in favour of the aggressor has reached its culmination.

The Non-intervention agreed at Neuchatel in 1900 with regard to a country in a state of revolt, consisted of two pionts. (1) No one may prevent the lawful government from procuring what it required in order to quell the revolt, and (2) no one may supply the rebels with war material or money or permit them to use the territory of a foreign state as a basis of military expeditions against the government.

This in its very substance is the non-intervention of Great Powers as regards the Spanish Government which was in opposition to the first point and very quickly, it came into opposition to the second point. The Fascist countries' breach of international law, however, was even more rapid. It came not merely before Non-intervention, but before the revolt itself. The revolt started on the 18th of July. On the 15th of July, three Italian military pilots had received their marching orders. When they made a forced landing on French African territory on the way to Spanish Morocco, the French High Commissioner found this document.

At the beginning the war in Spain was regarded as a civil war. As there is no article in the Covenant to determine the League's attitude in a civil war, the non-intervention agreement for the present was not in conflict with the Covenant. But when in August the Italians sent army planes to Spain, occupied Majorca and formed a military aircraft base on the island, Spain's foreign minister del Vayo appealed to the assembly in September. He pointed out the great danger to peace if it should become the custom for a country to begin by provoking a rebellion in another country and then supporting it with military forces without admitting it, without any declaration of war or in any other way. The assembly demanded proofs. They were already available in the Non-intervention Committee in London. Del Vayo also mentioned the thousands who had become victims of the fascistic aeroplanes and the foreign war material which was illegally being sent into Spain.

Now it was evident that Non-intervention was in conflict with the Covenant.

In the face of a military attack on one of its members the League of Nations has no right to declare itself passive. But the Assembly did not move.

At the beginning of December Mussolini sent to Spain as many troops and as much material as he considered sufficient for Franco to win the war with. On the 11th December del Vayo demanded the summoning of the Council. Now it was Madrid that was at stake. Were further proofs required ? Were it not German and Italian airmen who with their bombs were murdering and burning in the capital of Spain ? Did not Franco's soldiers call the Fascisti the " blond Moroccans "? If the League continued with its peace policy, del Vayo foresaw a pacified Europe in which all problems were settled by means of international fascism. But the effects of del Vayo's appeal were the same in the Council as it had been in the Assembly.

On December 22nd the Committee raised the question of the stoppage of volunteers to Spain. Presumably the term *volunteers* included the Italian regular troops, though many of them believed they were on their way to Ethiopia when they sailed for Spain. Under any circumstances the result would be in the aggressor's favour, as at that time there were almost ten times as many fascistic troops with Franco as there were foreign volunteers with the Government. On the same day Italy demonstrated her good will by landing 6,500 soldiers in Spain. The day before the Anglo-Italian gentlemen's agreement 4,000 more had arrived.

On the 7th of January Mussolini signified his adherence to the stoppage of volunteers. Nevertheless he would have preferred that all non-Spanish combatants should be withdrawn from Spain. What he meant by that is scarcely worthwhile pondering over. Ten days later another 10,000 men arrived from his country. On the 25th January he repeated his adherence, and during the next few days the number of Italian troops in Spain was brought up to 70,000.

As the *Manchester Guardian* says, the Italian diplomats know what they are talking about. For once the British diplomats did not know as well. On March 6th Lord Cranbourne stated in the Commons that the prohibition had come into force on the 20th of February at midnight. Next day came a telegram from " The Times " own correspondent in Gibraltar that on March 6th a steamer had arrived at Cadiz and had disembarked large Italian forces. And as a matter of fact on February 28th Mussolini had already shown how much his word was worth. Then the first 10,000 arrived after the prohibition had been signed by the Powers. And they were not the last.

On March 6th the doors were definitively closed. The warships of the four Powers were now to patrol the coasts of Spain, and international troops the Franco-Spanish frontier. Russia and Portugal wished to be left out of it, and they were. The two fascistic dictators, who had shown greater contempt for everything in the form of pacts and agreements than the others, these dictators who break them while they give their word and put their names to them, these two allies were chosen to enforce an agreement on a coast where their warships and airmen a short time before had bombarded Malaga and their troops had occupied it.

Then came the defeat. During a violent offensive by the Governmental troops the end came in an almost panicky flight of the rebels not far from Guadalajara, with large numbers of prisoners, soldiers and officers, all Italians. Additional evidence of Italy's part in the war now appeared. Mr. Eden in fact already had a whole museum full. Reports came from delegates, correspondents, professors, British and French members of parliament from Mme. Brown's photographs of German Junker machines, from Lord Hastings' copies of papers found on fallen foreign airmen, unexploded incendiary bombs, name-plates of aeroplanes, Italian parachutes, etc. Then came General Mancioni's congratulations to the Italian troops who had taken Malaga, and orders and documents from the Italian prisoners.

Mr. Eden was asked questions in the Commons. He did not know yet if it was true that there were Italian soliders and officers in Spain. He wanted confirmation of the evidence and would make enquiries in the Non-intervention Committee. But now events became too thick. They rushed fast Mr. Eden and left him to continue his conjuring in which nobody believed.

Mussolini hastened back to Rome—owing to a sand-storm in Libya—and Signor Grandi declared in the Non-intervention Committee in London " that not a single Italian volunteer would leave Spain till the civil war was over."

That was plain enough speaking. It meant War, and not Non-intervention. And with that one would have expected the whole miserable comedy to come to an end. But no. In the *Manchester Guardian weekly* on 25th March Noel Baker in all seriousness explained how the patrolling Fascists not only can evade the control in six infallible ways, but how they can also make it impossible for the Spanish Government to evade control. Lloyd George in the Commons asked what the Government would do if it were true that Mussolini was going to send two fresh divisions to Spain. And Mr. Eden's deputy, Lord Cranbourne, was not really fortunate this time either when he averred that "he had no reason whatever for believing that Mussolini intended to do anything of the kind." As regards the prohibition of volunteers, he insisted that it was being observed.

So the comedy went on.

There remains the question of what is behind this policy. Why did the democratic countries apply immediate *sanctions* against the constitutional democratic government of Spain? Why did France refuse to sell the Government aeroplanes? Why did Great Britain refuse the Government's ships' oil at Gibraltar? Why were the Government's ships prohibited already on the 9th of August from calling at Tangier? Why is this so-called Non-intervention Policy maintained in the face of the incessant breaches of it by the Fascisti?

Has the Spanish conflict—like the Ethio-Italian—*its* Stresa too, where the Powers made their agreements?

NOSE-ORNAMENTS IN INDIA

By Nalini Nath Das Gupta, M. A.

WRITING in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1923,[1] Mr. N. B. Divatia made the remark that "we find no mention of the nose-ring in Sanskrit literature, lexicons included." Upon this he opines that this ornament was unknown to ancient Indian civilization, and that it is but a Moslem importation. There is in the *Bhőja-pravandha* a verse which contains the expression "*násá-bhúṣáṅga*," but this piece of evidence is not taken into account, for the work is declared, and doubtless not without justification, to be a 'notorious forgery,' while the particular verse is alleged to stand 'self-condemned,' based as it is on puns on words.

Not long afterwards, another writer, in a Bengali article in the *Pravásí*,[2] relying chiefly on sculptural as well as pictorial evidence, came precisely to the same conclusion, that nose-ornament is characteristically a non-Hindu institution, it being imported into India by the Muhammadans,—and he derived a substantial corroboration of his theory from the hypothesis of Mr. Divatia. While in the paintings of the times of Jahangir and after, the nose-ornament does make its appearance, it is, the writer says, conspicuous by its absence even in pictures drawn in this country by Hindu painters during the age of Akbar. The implication, therefore, is that the importation was effected not anterior to the sixteenth century.

But the Bengali poet, Kṛttivâsa, uses the term *vésara* (a nose-ornament) in his Bengali rendering of the *Rámáyaṇa*, at the time of relating the marriage of Sîtâ, and Kṛttivâsa flourished in the former half of the fifteenth century at the latest. As to Sanskrit literature, the *Sáradá-tilaka Tantra* (composed by Lakṣmaṇa Dêśika), in course of delineating an Andhra woman, represents her, we are told,[3] as one with whose breathings oscillates the pendant pearl of her nose-ring (*nás=áṅgurí*). This Tântric work is quoted as an authority, we know, several times by the *Smárta* Raghunandana in the sixteenth century, but its date falls much earlier. In Prof. Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I (Cal. Univ., 1927, p. 604), it is placed in the eleventh century, and if so, it alone is enough to invalidate the theory that nose-ornament was imported by the Muhammadans in or about the sixteenth century.

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[1] New Series, Vol. XIX, pp. 67-70.

[2] 1334 B. S., Vol. XXVII, Pt. I, pp. 563, 716-18.

[3] *Pravásí*, 1341 B.S., Kârttika, pp. 109-110.

That the theory is of no effect is also borne out by the reference to the nose-ornament occurring in a verse of one Vaidyanâtha, which is quoted in the *Sárṅgadhara-paddhati*, and runs thus:

> Sudhâmayôpi kṣaya-rôga-śântyai
> nâsâgra-muktâ-phalakac=chalêna
> anaṅga-saṁjîvana-dṛṣṭi-śakti-
> r=mukhâmṛtaṁ tê pivatîva candraḥ. (v. 3305.)

Of Vaidyanâtha's date we have no precise information, but that his verse has been quoted in an anthology compiled in 1363 A.D., renders it almost certain that he dates from the 13th century, if not earlier.

There is another anthology, *viz.* the *Subháṣitávalí* of Vallabhadêva, wherein also occur several verses containing references to the nose-ornament. But the date of this collection of verses is, again, controversial. The late Professor Peter Peterson placed it in the fifteenth century.[1] Dr. S. K. De, however, points out that Vandyaghaṭîya Sarvânanda, in his *Ṭíká-sarvasva* commentary on the lexicon of Amara, not only makes a clear reference to the *Subháṣitávalí* compiled by Vallabhadêva of Kâśmîra (*Káśmíra-Vallabhadéva-racita-Subháṣitávalyáṁ*), but also actually cites verse No. 726 from this anthology, which must, therefore, have been, as Dr. De maintains, composed in or before 1160 (1159) A.D., the date of Sarvânanda's commentary.[2] Against this, Prof. A. B. Keith contends that the citation in the *Ṭíká-Sarvasva* is merely an interpolation, Sarvânanda's text being in general suspiciously correct and that the new date for Vallabhadêva is plausible and contrary to the weight of evidence.[3] Dr. De again tries to hold his own,[4] but in any case, one of the verses (No. 1506) containing reference to the nose-ornament (*nás=ágra-mauktikaṁ*) is of Baka, who is of known date, *viz.*, 1417 A.D.

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[1] *Cf.* Introduction, *Subhâṣitâvalî*, p. 114.
[2] *J.R.A.S.*, 1927, pp. 471-77.
[3] *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, Vol, V, 1928-30, pp. 27-32.
[4] *Ibid*, pp. 499-503.

If the *Subháṣitávalí* was composed in 1159 A.D., or before, this verse of Baka must have been an interpolation in the anthology. Another verse (No. 1504), which reads '*násikánté muktáphalaṁ*' in it also requires to be regarded as a later insertion, provided its author Jônaka is not different from Jônarâja, author of the *Rájávali* (continuation of the *Rájataraṅgiṇí*), and who was a contemporary of Baka.[1] Two other verses (Nos. 1503 and 2137), in which we get the expressions '*násâgra navamauktikaṁ*' and '*násá mauktika,*' are anonymous. But after all, the *Subháṣitávalí* contains one other verse (No. 27), which, although quoted as anonymous, is found [2] occurring in the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇámṛta* of Vilvamaṇgala, *alias* Lîlâśuka. This verse in glorifying Gopâla (Kṛṣṇa), describes him as '*nás=ágré-navamauktikaṁ,*' *i.e.*, 'who has a fresh (unfaded) pearl attached to the end of his nose.' There is also no precise knowing of the date of this devout Vaiṣṇava, Vilvamaṇgala, but the latest theory on the question assigns him to the ninth century A.D.[3] Even if he belonged to a period, one, two or three centuries later, the evidence of this verse as well as of those noted above places it above all doubt that the nose-ornament was known in the Hindu period of Indian history. The sweeping remark that there is no mention of this ornament in Sanskrit literature (prior to the 15th century) is extremely misleading, so much so that it has already evoked the suggestion that the references that are at several places to the nose-ornament in the *Brahma-vaivarta Puráṇa* only evince that its latest recension took place in the sixteenth century.[4]

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[1] *Subhâṣitâvalî*, Introduction, p. 43.
[2] *Ibid*, Notes, p. 2.
[3] Indian Historical Quarterly, VII, 1931, pp. 334-42.
[4] Bhâratavarṣa, 1337 B.S., p. 35.

RELIGIOUS CATEGORIES AS UNIVERSAL EXPRESSIONS OF CREATIVE PERSONALITY

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE CATEGORIES OF CONFUCIANISM

LET us watch the psycho-social *Gestalt* of China. Confucianism is the name wrongly given to the cult of public sacrifices devoted to *Shāngti* (the One Supreme Being), the *Tāo* (or the Way), and ancestor-worship that has been obtaining among the Chinese people since time immemorial. This cult of what is really an adoration of nature-powers happens to be called Confucianism simply because Confucius (B. C. 551-479), the librarian of Lu State in Shantung, compiled or edited for his countrymen the floating Ancient Classics, the *Yi-king* (Book of Changes), the *Shu-king* (Book of History), the *Shi-king* (Book of Poetry) and others in which the traditional faith finds expression. The work of Confucius for China was identical with that of Ezra (B. C. 450) of Israel who edited for the Hebrews the twenty-four books of the *Old Testament* that had been burnt and lost. In this sense or thus misnamed, Confucianism had existed among the Chinese long before Confucius was born in the same manner as the Homeric poems had been in circulation in the Hellenic world ages before Pisistratus of Athens had them brought together in well-edited volumes.

Confucianism is often considered as not being a religion at all, because it is generally taken to be equivalent to positivism, *i.e.*, a Godless system of mere morals, and hence alleged to be necessarily inadequate to the spiritual needs of man. The fact, however, is quite otherwise. The Socratic sayings of Confucius, that are preserved in the *Analects*, the *Doctrine of the Mean* and other treatises, have indeed no reference to the supernatural, the unseen or the other world. The fallacy of modern sinologues consists in regarding these moralizings as the whole message of China's Superman. Strictly speaking, they should be treated only as a part of a system which in its entirety has a place as much for the gods, sacrifices, prayers, astrology, demonology, tortoise worship, divination and so forth of Taoist and Folk China as for the purely ethical conceptions of the duty towards one's neighbour or the ideal relations between human beings.[1]

This alleged positivism or atheism of Confucius, and the pre-Confucian religion of ancient China, which for all practical purposes, was identical with the polytheistic nature-cult of the earliest "Indo-Aryan" races have both to be sharply distinguished from another Confucianism. For since about the fifth century A. C. the worship of Confucius as a god has been planted firmly in the Chinese consciousness and institutions. This latter-day Confucius-cult is a cult of nature-forces affiliated to the primitive *Shāngti*-cult, Heaven-cult, Tai-(Mountain) cult, etc., of the Chinese. In this Confucianism Confucius is a god among gods.

BUDDHALOGY AND CHRISTOLOGY.

Similarly in Buddhism also we have to recognize two fundamentally different sets of phenomena. There are two Buddhisms essentially distinct from each other. The first is the religion or system of moral discipline founded by Śākya (B. C. 563-483), the son of the president or archon (*rājan*) of the Sākiya republic in Eastern India, who came to be called the *Buddha* or the Enlightened (the Awakened). Sākya founded an order (*samgha*) of monks, and adumbrated the philosophy of twelve *nidānas* (links between ignorance and birth) and the ethics of the eightfold path. In this Buddhism, which should really be called Śākyaism, Buddha is of course neither a god nor a prophet of God, but only a preacher among the preachers of his time. The system is generally known as *Hīnayāna* (or the Lower Vehicle of Buddhism). Its prominent tenet is *nirvāṇa* or the cessation of misery (annihilation of pain).[2]

But there is another faith in which Buddha is *a* or rather *the* god. This Buddha-cult, or Buddhism strictly so called, cannot by any means be fathered upon Śākya, the moralist. It chanced to evolve out of the schisms among his followers. Buddha-worship was formulated by Aśvaghoṣa and came into existence as a distinct creed about the first century A. C. in northwestern India during the reign of Kaṇiṣka, the Indo-Tartar Emperor. This faith, also called *Mahāyānā* (the Greater Vehicle), was theologically much allied to, and did not really differ in ritual and mythology from, the contemporary Jain and Puranic-Hindu " isms" of India. It is this Buddhism, furnished as it is with gods and goddesses, that was introduced from Central Asia into China in A. C. 67, from China into Korea in A. C. 372, and from Korea into Japan in A. C. 552.

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[1] B. K. Sarkar: *Chinese Religion Through Hindu Eyes* (Shanghai, 1916), "Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity" (*Open Court*, Chicago, November 1919) and *The Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin 1922). See also Werner.: *Chinese Sociology* (London 1910) and De Groot: *Religion in China* (New York 1912).

[2] De la Vallée Poussin: *Nirvana* (Paris 1925), T. Stcherbatsky: *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvana* (Leningrad 1927), N. Dutt: *Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism in its relation to Hinayana* (London 1930).

The contrast between Śākya the preacher and Buddha the god, or Confucius the moralist and Confucius the god has its parallel in Christology also. Modern criticism expresses this contrast, says Bacon in the *Making of the New Testament*, in its distinction of the gospel of Jesus from the gospel *about* Jesus. The distinction between Śākyaism and Buddhism, or between Confucianism as the system of tenets in the body of literature compiled by Confucius and Confucianism in which Confucius figures as a Divinity, as a colleague of *Shāngti*, is the same in essence as that between the teachings of Jesus the Jew and teachings, say, of St. Paul about Jesus the Christ who is God-in-man.

THE AVATARAS OF INDIA, ISRAEL AND CHINA.

The incarnation-myths of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and similar legends of the *Jātakas* (Birth-Stories) must have developed as early as the epoch of Maurya imperialism (B. C. 322-185). While the poets of the *Rāma*-legend sang,

> " For Viṣṇu's self disdained not mortal birth,
> And heaven came with him as he came to earth,"

and Kriṣṇa proclaimed in the *Gītā* section of the *Mahābhārata*: " Forsake all *dharmas* (ways, *Taos*, creeds), make Me alone thy way," the sculptors of India were carving *bas*-reliefs in order to represent scenes in the life of Śākya deified as the Buddha. The post-Asokan but pre-Christian sculptures at Bhārhut (second century B. C.) leave no doubt as to the prevalence of a faith in Buddha whose birth was believed to be super-natural and whose career was to anticipate ideologically the holy ministrations of the Syrian Messiah. Besides, the mind of India had become used to such emphatic announcements of the *Gītā* as the following:

> " I am the Father, and the Fostering Nurse,
> Grandsire, and Mother of the Universe,
> I am the Vedas, and the Mystic word,
> The way, the support, the witness and the Lord.
> The Seed am I of deathless quickening power,
> The Home of all, the mighty Refuge-tower."

Buddha-cult was thus born and nurtured in a perfectly congenial atmosphere.

The Pauline doctrine of Jesus as an *avatāra, i.e.*, God-incarnate-in-man was also quite in keeping with the spiritual *milieu* of the age, rife as it was with the notions of Redeemer-gods. Here an Osiris, there a Mithra was commanding the devotion of the civilized world as a god resurrected after death to save mankind. Parallel to the development in Iran, which transformed Zarathustra [1] from the man-prophet-singer of the *Gāthās* into a super-natural and semi-divine figure, there was in Israel the continuous and progressive re-interpretation of traditional beliefs and symbols, as Canon Charles points out in the *Religious Development Between the Old and New Testaments*. From the third century B. C. on, as a consequence, whole histories centred round such conceptions as the soul, spirit, *sheol*, Paradise, Messianic Kingdom, the Messiah, the Resurrection. The idea of the Redeemer was taking definite shape, for instance, in the following verses of the *Psalms of Solomon* composed about the first century B. C.:

> " Behold, O Lord, and raise up into them
> Their King, the son of David,
> At the time in which thou seest, O God,
> That he may reign over Israel Thy servant
> And gird him with strength that he may
> Shatter unrighteous rulers
> And that he may purge Jerusalem from
> Nations that trample her down to destruction."

In India the rhapsodists of the Vālmīkian cycle were singing of the advent of the Messiah as Rāma, and the Śākyan monks elaborating the Buddhist stories of incarnation (*Jātaka*) in the self-same strain. Nor was China to be left without an *avatāra* or a deified personality. In the fourth century B. C. Mencius, the St. Paul of Confucianism, calls his great Master *Chi Ta-cheng*, *i.e.*, the embodiment of highest perfection. Three hundred years after his death Confucius was made Duke and Earl, Sze Ma-chien, the Chinese Herodotus (first century B. C.) describes him as the "divinest of men." But by the end of the first century A. C. the birthplace of Confucius had become a goal for the pilgrim and even emperors wended their way to pay respects to his shrine. In A. C. 178, says Giles in *Confucianism and its Rivals*, a likeness of Confucius had been placed in his shrine as a substitute for the wooden tablet in use up to that date. In 267 an Imperial decree ordered the sacrifice of a pig, sheep and an ox to Confucius at each of the four seasons. The first complete Confucian temple was built and dedicated in 505. About 555 it was enacted that a Confucian temple should be built in every prefectural city, for the people had come to "look upon Confucius as a god to be propitiated for the sake of worldly advantages."

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[1] Moulton : *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* (Cambridge 1911).

This heroification and deification of Confucius was not an isolated phenomenon in the Chinese world, for China was also simultaneously transforming Lao-tsze, his senior contemporary, into a Divinity. The Tāoist writers had begun to describe their great prophet as an incarnation of some Superior Being who came among men in human shape in every age. They told also the various names under which he appeared from the highest period of fabulous antiquity down as late as the sixth century, making in all seven periods.

Indeed, the spiritual experience of the entire human race was passing through almost the same climacteric. Zoroastrianism was evolving Mithraism. Chinese classics were evolving the worship of Confucius and Lao-tsze, Hinduism was evolving Buddha-cult, Kriṣṇa-cult, Rāma-cult, etc., and Judaism was in the birth-throes of Christ-cult.

The elaboration of these "Great Exemplars," *Avatāras* or "Supermen" is but one of the forms in which the uniform psychological metabolism of the different races was manifesting itself. The types of ethical and spiritual "perfection" or highest ideals and norms in human personality, that had been slowly acquiring prominence in India, in the Hellenistic world, and in China during the preceding centuries at last began to crystallize themselves out of the solution of folk-experience and emerge as distinctly individualized entities. The world-forces or nature-powers of the antique world, *viz*,, Mother Earth and the elemental energies, furnished no doubt the basic foundations and the nuclei for these types or patterns. Folk-imagination in brooding over the past and reconstructing ancient traditions had sanctified certain historic personalities, [1] legendary heroes or eponymous culture-pioneers, and endowed their names with a halo of romance. Philosophical speculation had been groping in the dark as to the mysteries of the universe and had stumbled upon the One, the Unknown, the Eternal, the Absolute, the Infinite, the Ideal. Last, but not least, are the contributions of the " lover, the lunatic and the poet,"—the Mark, the Matthew, the Mencius, the Vālmīki, the Aśvaghoṣa—who came to weld together all these elements into artistic shapes, "fashioning forth" those sons of God,—concrete human personalities to embody at once the man-in-God and the God-in-man.

THE WALI-CULT IN ISLAM.

More or less identical is the psycho-social *Gestalt* of the Moslem world. Mohammed was already looked upon by his immediate followers as an " extra-human miracle-worker " *(uebermenschlicher Wundermann)* and his death surprised even Caliph Omar as something impossible or inconceivable.[2] Everybody who wanted to believe that Mohammed had died was threatened by Omar with the most gruesome punishments. The biographers of Mohammed during the subsequent generation enriched his life-story with the details of his miracles. In the third century after his death, Ibn Hibban of Andalusia went so far as to say that Mohammed was not a human being subject to hunger and thirst.

The *Wali*-cult of the Mussalmans throughout the world,—in Asia, Africa and Europe,—is psychologically linked up with the normal *Heiligenverehrung* (saint-worship) or hagiology of all races of men. Moslem faith in the power of *Igma* is but a part of the most universally observed folk-mentality which feels helpless without supernatural agencies and extra-human energies.

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[1] W. Ridgeway : *Origin of Tragedy*, 1910, and *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races in special reference to the Origin of Greek Tragedy*, 1915.

[2] *Fadail al ashab*, *No. 6*, *Al Tabari*, I, p. 1815, and *Al Zurkani*, IV, p. 198 , quoted in *Goldziher* : *Mohammedanische Studien*, Vol. II (Halle, 1890), pp. 283-284.

THE ETHICAL EQUATIONS OF NATIONS.

The ethical conceptions or moral codes of a people are bound up inextricably with its economic and social institutions. For all practical purposes they may very often be regarded as almost independent of its strictly religious thought, its theological doctrines, and the hypotheses of its prophets or thinkers regarding the nature of Godhead, the soul, and the relation between man and the Creator. While, therefore, the "whole duty of man" is sure to differ with people and people, nay, with class and class, and also with epoch and epoch in each nation and in each class, it is still remarkable that the most fundamental categories of moral life all the world over have been the same. The ethical systems of historic Confucianism, Buddhism, and Christianity are broad-based on almost identical notions of the good and the right. Social equilibria or similarities and equations between the nations in psycho-social *Gestalt* are nowhere more prominent than in the domain of moral ideals.

But here it is necessary to make a few special remarks about Confucianism. In the first place, suggestive sex-ideas associated with such concepts as "immaculate conception" in Christlore or "energy" (*Sakti*, the female "principle") in Buddhist and Hindu mythologies do not appear to have any place either in the *Classics* compiled by Confucius the man or in the religion in which Confucius is a god. From the standpoint of conventional morality, Confucianism is perhaps the most chaste and undefiled of the great world-religions.

In the second place, one must not argue from this that the Chinese mentality is what Confucianism presumes it to be, for China is not mere Confucius magnified. Every Chinese is a Confucianist, and yet something more. Like the Japanese who is at once a believer in *Kāmi* (supernatural agencies or nature-powers), *Shinto* (the way of the gods), a polytheistic cult of world-forces, a Confucianist as well as a Buddhist, the men and women of China, almost each and all, are Tāoists (followers of Lao-tsze's mystical cult of *Tāo*, Way or Natural Order) and Buddhists at the same time that they offer sacrifices to Confucius and *Shāngti*. When the head of the family dies, as says Wu Ting-fang in the preface to the present author's *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes*, the funeral services are conducted in a most cosmopolitan way, for the Tāoist priests and the Buddhist monks as well as nuns are usually called in to recite prayers for the dead in addition to the performance of ceremonies in conformity with the Confucian rules of "propriety." The *mores* of Chinese life, eclectic as it is, cannot thus all be found in the teachings of the *Classics* alone.

LIFE-DENIAL, MYSTICISM AND POSITIVISM.

One need not be surprised, therefore, to find in the Chinese *Weltanschauung* or view of life a place for the pessimism that one meets with in the announcements of Jesus. "He that loveth father or mother more than Me," said Jesus, "is not worthy of Me." And further, "if any man cometh unto Me, and leaveth not his father and mother and wife and children, he cannot be My disciple." Here is the origin of the system that, backed by St. Paul's recommendation of celibacy for Christ's followers, ultimately developed into Christian monasticism and the ethics of retreat from the "world and the flesh." The selfsame doctrine of holiness by means of asceticism, life-denial, and self-mortification has had a long tradition in pre-Confucian China as well as in China since the age of Lao-tsze and Confucius. Even in the earliest ages of Chinese history perfection, holiness or divinity were held to be exclusively attainable by dispassion, apathy, will-lessness, unconcernedness about the pleasures and pains of life, quietism, or *wu-wei*. Emperor Hwang-ti of hoary antiquity is mentioned by Chwang-tsze (fourth century B.C.), the great follower of Lao-tsze, as having retired for three months in order to prepare himself for receiving the *Tāo* from an ascetic who practised freedom from mental agitation.

Along with this pessimistic strand of Christianity, Chinese moral consciousness can also display the mystical leaning of Jesus as manifest in such declarations as "the Kingdom of God is within you" or "My Kingdom is not of this world." Thus, says Chwang-tsze: "Be free yourself from subjective ignorance and individual peculiarities, find the *Tāo* in your own being, and you will be able to find it in others too, because the *Tāo* cannot be one in one thing and another in another." And according to the *Tao-te-ching*, the Bible of Tāoism, "mighty is he who conquers himself," and further, "if you keep behind, you shall be in front," or "he who is content has enough." These are the tenets of passivism and non-resistance that Jesus stood for when he advised his followers to "render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's."

We need not dwell here on the ascetic or pietistic ideals and institutions of Buddhism, as the Plotinuses, the St. Francises, the Jacopone da Todis, the Böhmes, the Ruysbroecks, and the Guyons of India are too well known. But we have rather to emphasize, on the other hand, the fact that transcendentalism, idealism or mysticism is not the only attitude or philosophy of ethical life advanced by or associated with the religious systems of the world. Not less is the ethics of positivism, *i.e.*, of humanitarian energism (*viriya*) and social service or brotherhood (*sarva-sattva-maitrī*) a prominent feature in Hinduism, in Buddhism, in Christianity, and in the moral *dicta* of the Chinese sages like Confucius, Moh-ti, the preacher of universal love, and Mencius, the advocate of tyrannicide.

There is no doubt a great difference in the manner in which the categories have been stated in the different systems, especially as regards the intellectual analysis or psychological classification of the cardinal virtues and vices. But from the viewpoint of moral discipline none but a hidebound linguist or a student of formal logic can fail to notice the pragmatic identity of life governed by the " eightfold path" of Śākya, the " five duties " of Confucius and the " ten commandments " of the Bible. Nay, like the Mosaic dictates, the Confucian and Śākyan principles are too elemental to have been missed by the prophets of any nation.

RECIPROCITY, SOLIDARISM AND SOCIAL SERVICE.

The most important tenet in Confucius's moral creed is to be found in the idea of "reciprocity." [1] It is thus worded in his *Doctrine of the Mean*: " What you do not wish others should do unto you, do not do unto them." In a negative form this is indeed the golden rule of *Luke*: " As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise." In all treatments of fellow-beings Śākya's injunction also is " to put oneself in the place of others " (*attānam upamām katvā*). We read in the *Dhammapada*:

" All men tremble at punishment, all men fear death: Putting oneself in the place of others, kill not nor cause slaughter."

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[1] For an anthropological analysis of reciprocity as a universal social force see R. C. Thurnwald : " Gegenseitigkeit im Aufbau und Funktionieren der Gesellungen und deren Institutionen " in *Reine und Angewandte Soziologie*, Festgabe für Tönnies (Leipzig 1936). See also C. Gide : *La Solidarité* (Paris 1932).

" All men tremble at the rod, all men love life. Being as one would be done by, kill not nor cause to kill."

Reciprocity is thus the common golden rule of the three world-religions. From the idealistic standpoint as represented, for instance, by Giorgio Del Vecchio in *Etica, Diritto, e Stato, il riconoscimento della identità sostanziale dell'essere di tutti subjetti* (the recognition of the substantial identity in being of all subjects or persons) constitutes the universal beginning of ethical principle. And this is why reciprocity which is based essentially on this feeling of identity may be taken to be so universally appreciated.

The formulation of this rule was the distinctive contribution of Confucius to Chinese life. His catechism of moral discipline points out, further, that the duties of universal obligation are five, and the moral qualities by which they are carried out are three. The duties are those between ruler and subject, between father and son, between husband and wife, between elder brother and younger, and those in the intercourse between friends. Intelligence, moral character and courage, these are the three universally recognized moral qualities of man. The performance of these duties is the *sine qua non* of " good manners " or propriety. In the Confucian system the tenet of reciprocity leads thus to the cult of " propriety." In the Śākyan discipline also we have the same propriety in the doctrine of *sila* (conduct). The path leading to the cessation of misery is described in the *Digha Nikāya* as consisting in right belief, right resolve, right speech, right behaviour, right occupation, right efforts, right contemplation, and right concentration. It is obvious that some of the conditions stated here, especially those in regard to speech, behaviour, and occupation, are other-regarding, *i.e.*, have a social significance in the system of self-culture.

Lest the social energism of Śākyan morals be ignored it is necessary to point out that *appamāda* (vigilance, strenuousness and activity) is the first article in the Buddhist monk's creed of life. Śākya wanted his followers to be moral and intellectual gymnasts and " move about like fire." Such were the men who built the first hospitals of the world for men and animals, established rest-houses and planted trees for wayfarers, popularized the trial by jury and the methods of election, voting, and quorum in democratic assemblies, and founded universities, academies and other seats of learning in India, China, and Japan.

The Hindu doctrine of five *mahā-yajnas* (great sacrifices) teaches the householder to behave as a *debtor* to Nature, man and the world, and to perform in discharge of his debts a number of duties every day such as render him virtually an embodiment of *le solidarisme social* (*Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*). The first sacrifice, " debt " (*riṇa*) or duty is that to the *devas* (gods). The second consists in the study and teaching of *Brahma* (the sacred texts). The third sacrifice is that of propitiating the *pitris* (ancestors) with libations of water. The maintenance of the poor, the hungry and the destitute belongs to the next sacrifice, called the *nri-yajna* (sacrifice for man). And finally, the fifth or *bhūta-yajna* implies service to all created beings, the lower animals. Philanthropy and social service are thus linked up in the daily estimation of the Hindus with ancestor-worship, cultivation of learning and prayers to the gods in a scheme of religious discipline.

THE CATEGORIES OF RAMAKRISHNA AND VIVEKANANDA.

The religious categories created by the human *psyche* are then as numerous as conceivable. And it is possible to discover virtually every category in one form or other among the diverse races of mankind, especially such as have well-developed systems on account of evolution through ages.

In modern times the religious tendency of men, as we may agree with Spranger,[1] has assumed a secular *Gestalt* whose contact with the metaphysical or speculative is not obvious. But even today, *aller echten Wissenschaft liegt ein religiöses Fundament zugrunde* (a religious basis is the foundation of all real science).

Religion and religious categories may, then, be described as some of *i residui costanti dei fatti sociali* (the constant residues of social facts), in Niceforo's words. These are the permanent, universal, invisible, *sottogiacenti* (underlying) and general categories to be discovered when one descends from the superficial into the depths of mentality and social life.[2]

Even without inventing a *totem*, popularizing a ritual, or establishing a god one can be worshipped as a saint, nay, an *avatāra*. For instance, Ramakrishna (1836-1886), who within fifty years of his death is being worshipped virtually as a god by a large section of the modern Hindus, owes his divinity or avatarahood, if one may say so, not evidently to any miracles or messages of mystery, but, among other things, to such words of secular and practical wisdom as the following:[1]

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[1] " Theorie und Ethos " in *Die Erziehung* (Leipzig), XI, 10-11, pp. 449, 456.

[2] " I Fatti costanti della Vita Sociale " in *Rivista di Psicologia* (Bologna, April-June, 1935).

"Many with a show of humility say, 'I am like a low worm grovelling in the dust.' Thus always thinking themselves worms, in time they become weak in spirit like worms" (No. 518).

The avatarahood of the modern Bengali saint is founded on inspiring talks like these which endow men and women with courage, strength and spirit of self-assertion. Among other "words of nectar" (*kathāmrita*) that the world has got from Ramakrishna is to be mentioned a *sūtra* like the following:

"The mind is everything. If the mind loses its liberty, you lose yours. If the mind is free you are free too." (No. 514). This is the gospel,—Fichtean [2] as it is,—that can energize the poor, the lowly, and the depressed enough to be able to combat the cruel conditions governing the society and rise above them all into the position of glory and world-conquest.

And if Ramakrishna has any god it is to be found, as the masses understand it, in his epoch-making equation, *Jīva* (man)=*Śiva* (God). The divinity of man is the bed-rock of his teachings, profoundly democratic as they are.[3]

Let us take a category as propagated by Vivekananda, namely, :[4]

"You will understand the *Gītā* better with your biceps, your muscles, a little stronger. You will understand the *Upaniṣads* better and the glory of the *Ātman* when your body stands firm upon your feet, and you feel yourselves as men."

It is not of the gods and goddesses, the rituals and the ceremonies, the temples and the holy places that Vivekananda speaks. In his psycho-social *Gestalt* "it is an insult to a starving people to offer them religion; it is an insult to a starving man to teach him metaphysics."[5]

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[1] *The Teachings of Sri Ramakrishna* (Advaita Ashrama, Calcutta, 1934).

[2] Fichte: *Reden an die Deutsche Nation* (1808), XIV.

[3] B. K. Sarkar: *The Might of Man in the Social Philosophy of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda* (Madras, 1936) and "Ramakrishna-Vivekananda and the Religion of Progress," *Prabuddha Bharata*, Calcutta, January 1937).

[4] *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. III (1932), p. 242.

[5] *Ibid*, Vol. I (1931), p. 18.

The creed of the Poor as God or the Divinity in the Poor (*Daridra Nārāyaṇa*) with which Vivekananda is associated in the *milieu* of middle and working classes as other teeming millions has enabled him to declare: "I do not believe in a God or religion which cannot wipe the widow's tears or bring a piece of bread to an orphan's mouth." [1]

One can read in this bit of Vivekanandism the romantic socialism of early nineteenth century Europe, and indeed the contents of the traditional five *mahā-yajnas* ("great debts") of the Hindus, if one will.[2]

SOCIO-RACIAL DIVERSITIES A PERMANENT REALITY.

From totemism to Buddhism, Catholicism, Islam and Vivekanandism man's creative or spiritual urges have given birth to a thousand and one religious categories. The contents of some of these categories are mystical and of others positivistic. And in every instance the *Gestalt* of religion is a psycho-social blend of heterogeneous strains. It is for every individual to choose the ones that one wishes. For, it is the privilege of man, using the words of Śākya the Buddha in *Dhammapada*, to "rouse thyself by thyself" and "examine thyself by thyself." And "whoever shall be a lamp unto themselves shall reach the very topmost height" (*Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta*, 11, 35).

And of course it has likewise ever been the privilege of man since Mohenjo Daro and earlier times to construct his own socio-economic and psycho-social *Gestalt* out of the natural and human, *i.e.*, the regional and racial (or social) elements among the *viśva-śakti* (world-forces). This cosmic privilege of the human race has found expression in our own times in Ramakrishna's enunciation of the pluralistic doctrine of *yata mata tata path* (as many faiths, so many paths). He called upon mankind to look upon every faith as a path to God thereby constructing a world-republic of religions.

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[1] *The Complete Works, etc.*, Vol. V (1924), p. 39.

[2] "In the doctrine of the five great sacrifices the entire world is a divinity. Whatever exists on earth is a god. Man has debts to everything. He has therefore to sacrifice something in favour of everybody and everything in order to repay those debts."—Ramendra Sundar Trivedi: *Yajna-Kathā* (Calcutta 1921), p. 172.

Human logic is forced to realize once more that the diversities of the psycho-social, socio-economic and socio-racial *Gestalt*, in spite of the fundamental unity of the *psyche* and its constituents, are some of the permanent realities of world-evolution. It is on the postulate of world-embracing and full-blooded freedom in morality, of intensely diversified individualities in spiritual life, both personal and collective, as well as of the multiplicity of racial and social morphologies that the philosophy of inter-religious harmony and international concord may be established.[1]

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[1] Continued from our last issue.

ON PROMETHEUS UNBOUND

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PROMETHEUS UNBOUND is admittedly a unique work in English literature, a lyrical drama that transports us to a world of elemental beings. Shelley is essentially an idealist. With his poet's eye he saw an enchanting vision, the vision of a Golden Age that is to come in the future, and he made it the mission of his life to preach it to the world. This passion for reform possessed him early in life and inspired his biggest poems, *Queen Mab, The Revolt of Islam, Prometheus Unbound* and *Hellas. Queen Mab* reads like a sermon in verse. The didactic element is no less present in other poems, the subject generally being the " image of One warring with Evil," oppressed by all, but with a triumphant faith in the ultimate omnipotence of Good. The spirit that animates the hero is the spirit of the poet himself. Even a casual reader of Shelley's life will be constantly reminded of the heroic figure of Prometheus. Like him he fought single-handed against social institutions which seemed to him the very citadel of evil, like him too he bore all ills and sufferings with a firm resolution, and we catch the same Promethean ring in his fiery denunciation of Elden,—" I curse thee, though I hate thee not O Slave ! " In *Prometheus Unbound* then Shelley poured forth the most ethereal part of his soul and embodied his loftiest dreams and aspirations.

The poem was begun at Este, and completed at Rome in 1819. Shelley deeply felt the magical influence of the weird ruins near Rome, and Æschylus supplied him with a theme which suited the inspiration of the moment. The sublime majesty of the Greek drama impressed him deeply, but he could not accept its feeble conclusion. The moral interest of the fable, he thought, would be lost if Prometheus unsays his high language and quails before his perfidious adversary. The Prometheus of Æschylus is not really an ideal hero. But Shelley's Prometheus is the very type of heroism and moral perfection. He never submits to Jupiter. We first discover him bound to a precipice in the Caucasus, attended by Panthea and Ione, sisters to his beloved Asia who has been separated from him. For three thousand years he has been chained and oppressed by Jupiter. The Furies pounce upon him and subject him to unspeakable physical tortures. Worse punishments follow in due course. The veil of futurity is torn and Prometheus sees with horror two visions, strangely symbolical of the Crucifixion and the French Revolution, visions of good resulting in evil to man. The climax of moral suffering is now reached, but the hero soars above all trials and torments, and conquers hate. He says to Jupiter,

> " ....Though dread revenge,
> This is defeat, fierce King, not victory."

His spiritual triumph is complete, and a troop of gentle spirits visit him and sing him songs of heroism, wisdom and love. Prometheus is comforted and his mind turns towards his beloved Asia.

The second act opens with Asia in a lovely valley in the Caucasus. She is joined by Panthea and the two sisters go out on a mystic quest through forests and hills down to the " gray, void abysm " of Demogorgon, where, face to face with the awful Presence, Asia questions him about the origin of evil and the hour of the deliverance of Prometheus. The answer comes in deed, not word. Suddenly the terrible form floats up and ascends the Car of the Hour, while Asia and Panthea too are carried upwards in another car. Asia is presently transfigured and a holy light emanates from her that fills the world.

The next scene witnesses the downfall of Jupiter which happens at the very moment when the tyrant congratulates himself on his omnipotence. He sinks into the dark abyss, and Prometheus, reunited with Asia, enters upon a career of endless love and joy. A lyrical epilogue follows, ringing with the chorus of Spirits and Hours, all sharing in the " joy, the triumph, the madness " that pass from orb to orb and so on to the whole universe.

Shelley calls his work a " lyrical drama," for it is evidently not a drama in the ordinary sense. We are really transported to a new world where only our imagination can travel, a mythical world of superhuman beings. As we study the myth, we perceive, as by an act of intuition, an under-current of spiritual significance running through it. This symbolism however is quite different in spirit from that of such works as Spenser's *Faerie Queene* or Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress.* We cannot fully enjoy Spenser unless we know the meaning he chooses to put upon his story. With Shelley the case is otherwise. *Prometheus Unbound* is one of the few instances in

English literature of what the Sanskrit rhetoricians would call " Anuranana " or " Vastudhvani." The symbolism here is like a projection, luminous but fleeting, from the body of the poem, seen through the moonlit haze of the poet's art. It is like the melody that lingers after the song is silent. It is not thrust upon the mind of the reader by any arbitrary choice of the poet, it is suggested by the poem itself. In a word, the poem is not a mere allegory. It is a unique work of art, with " gleams of spiritual meaning flashing through it," which may strike different readers in different ways.

Shelley's philosophy of life, it must be admitted, is often vague or visionary. He held that evil was not inherent in the system of creation, but an accident that might be expelled. He believed that mankind had only to will that there should be no evil, and there would be none. These ideas were made familiar in England by Godwin who was greatly influenced by the spirit of the French Revolution. Rousseau and his school looked upon the original state of nature as a time of innocence and bliss, and advocated a return to it. The chief barrier in their way, they thought, was the established order of things, the old institutions of family, church, society, government—and their overthrow would bring back the golden age. *Prometheus Unbound* is the drama of this deliverance of man from the reign of Evil. Prometheus represents Man and Jupiter Evil. The former gave all authority to the latter on condition that human will would be left free. But institutions ever tend to harden, and clog progress. So Jupiter ungratefully imprisoned, tortured and humiliated his benefactor. Prometheus, however, pities the tyrant and even revokes his former curse on him. The power of evil is overcome, not by physical force but by spiritual elevation, heroic resistance and resolute will, and when to these is added the spirit of pure love, the overthrow of evil is sure to follow. The deity of Jupiter, a mere creation of the human mind, lasts only so long as man cannot rise to the above level. When however this stage is reached, the seed of destruction that is inherent in evil demolishes it and good triumphs finally. This is implied in Jupiter's overthrow by his own son, a strange incarnation of Demogorgon. The conception of Demogorgon is obscure. He seems to represent the primal power of the universe that works inexorably in the dark abyss of time. It has been suggested that there is a tendency in Shelley towards dualism. On the one hand there is the frame of the universe—eternal and necessary existence. On the other hand, there is the spirit which works in and through this frame of things, as the soul works within the body, free, yet limited by its instrument. "This fundamental fact behind all others, this fixed frame of the universe, necessity or fate, is shadowed forth in Demogorgon."

Asia is the spirit of Nature, the child of light, whose love for Prometheus symbolises the noblest yearnings of the human soul—the ideals of love and beauty. If she is love, her two sisters are faith and hope. During the reign of evil the soul of man is separated from the ideal, and Prometheus is left alone to mourn the loss of his beloved:

> Asia, who when my being overflowed,
> Wert like a golden chalice to bright wine.

His suffering however soon comes to an end, and love, always a principle of energy, realises itself through spirituality and leads man to perfection and final victory:—

> The world's great age begins anew,
> The golden years return,
> The earth doth like a snake renew
> Her winter weeds outworn.
>
> *Hellas.*

Shelley's philosophical ideas did not appeal to the mind of his age. His noblest poem fell still-born from the press. The grandeur of the conception, the vivid embodiment of lofty dreams, the subtle lyrical cry, all failed of their effect. Its extreme idealism was misunderstood, and condemned as the stupid trash of a delirious dreamer, "a mixture of blasphemy, sedition and sensuality." "Mine is a life of failures," lamented the poet himself. With all his reforming zeal, however, Shelley was not blind to his true vocation in life. He expressed his abhorrence for didactic poetry and denied that his works contained a reasoned system on the theory of human life. He only wanted to excite in his reader a generous impulse, an ardent thirst for moral excellence, and in this he succeeded completely. As Rossetti remarks, *Prometheus* embodies, in forms of ecstatic beauty, the dominant passion of the dominant intellects of the age ; it is the ideal poem of perpetual and triumphant progression, the Atlantis of Man Emancipated, and one may rightly add that the poet's life is, in a sense, of 'greater and more enduring significance than all that happened in France in 1792.'

THEME OF POETRY—
A DEFENCE OF MATTHEW ARNOLD.

A. C. DAS-GUPTA, M.A.

MATTHEW Arnold, in determining what subjects poetry should deal with, takes Aristotle's authority when he says, " Imitation is natural to man from childhood ; one of his advantages over the lower animals being this that he is the most imitative creature of the world, and learns at first by imitation." Poetry, Arnold says, among all nations and in all ages has imitated human actions—great and interesting in themselves, which add to our knowledge, and all knowledge, as Aristotle says, is agreeable to man. The great human actions that poetry imitates are those which " appeal most powerfully to the great human affections, to those elementary feelings which subsist permanently in the race, and which are independent of time." In addition to man's natural interest in knowledge and in the permanent human affection, the poetic representation of a great action should ' inspirit ' and ' rejoice ' the reader by conveying a charm of its own. Thus so far as the aesthetic value of poetry is concerned, Arnold is at one with Schiller who says, " All art is dedicated to joy, and there is no higher and no serious problem, than how to make man happy. The right art is that alone, which creates the highest enjoyment."

The primary consideration of a poet, then, according to Arnold, should be the selection of an excellent action having the potentiality of arousing great human passions. A little action, a trifling object, fails to give the elevating effect which poetry aims at producing, hence representation of such an action should be avoided if the poet is to attain the " highest and best." Let us pause for a while to consider Arnold's preference for great or excellent action as opposed to small or trifling action. It is necessary here to glance briefly at Arnold's conception of poetry and its function, in order to understand his view on the choice of subject in poetry. If poetry is to be a criticism of life, it must deal only with significant human experience. Poetry has, no doubt, at its disposal, the entire human life and experience to deal with. But in order that poetry may be great and worthy of its high destinies, it is necessary to consider the ' quality ' of experience it chooses to present. Arnold meant this when he laid so much emphasis on the necessity of choosing only the appropriate kind of subjects, *viz.*, great action.

If we keep the above in mind and remember also what has already been suggested, regarding the mark of the fitness of a subject in poetry, namely, its capability of arousing great human passions, we are in a position to appreciate fairly well Arnold's view on the matter. He says, " All depends upon the subject ; choose a fitting action, penetrate yourself with the feeling of the situation ; this done, everything else will follow." This view has not commanded universal assent from the practitioners and critics of poetry. In Prof. Bradley's lecture on " Art for Art's sake " he quotes. " The mere matter of all poetry, such as, appearance of nature, and thoughts and feelings of man, being unalterable, the difference between poet and poet depends on the manner on which each applies language, etc., ... to the invariable material." This and similar remarks of other writers point to a widely held view, in direct opposition to Arnold's, that the greatness of poetry really depends on the treatment. It is possible to make out a good case for this view by producing in its support many magnificent poems on apparently trite and unimportant subjects. But before we arrive at any conclusion from these two opposite views, it will be profitable to consider what we mean by the word ' subjects ' when used in connection with poetry. The subject of a poem may ostensibly be a " Skylark," a " Grecian urn " or anything of that nature, but when we read through the poems written on these subjects, we find that actually the poems have very little to say directly on them. On the other hand, they deal with the thoughts, feelings and associations roused by them ; in fact, these so-called subjects are but the starting points, the ' pegs ' as it were on which to hang the poet's ideals, views and memories or, in short, whatever he wants to say. The subject in poetry, in fact, then, is not the avowed theme or title, but its emotional content, or significance to the poet.

If we now turn to the contention that the subject in poetry does not matter ; that one subject is as good as another to a capable poet and that all depends on the treatment, our answer will be twofold. In the first place, if a poet can write a noble poem on a trivial theme, it is highly probable that given a worthier subject, he would produce a still nobler work. It does not prove that the importance of subject does not exist in poetry. Next, that if a poet can turn out an excellent poem on what is apparently a trifling topic, it is because the topic has emotional possibilities or significance to him, not perceived by others. Such a poem on a trivial theme will not have a wide appeal unless, as in the case of Wordsworth and other philosophical poets, it is invested with a cosmic significance, drawn from the poet's vision of life; *e. g.*, when they see the universal in the particular, when every object opens the " window to infinity " like the flower in the " crannied wall " of Tennyson. But there is a limit to seeing the universal in the manner in every trifling object; for, after a few pieces of this nature the novelty is soon exhausted. For the majority of the poets, however, who do not share this kind of cosmic vision of life, the attempt to deal with petty subjects will mean the restriction of their appeal. Their poems, as in the case of many modern poets, will only have a narrower or personal significance, appreciated by those with identical or closely similar associations and not shared by the public. Hence, as the wise course for a poet to follow under most circumstances, we fall back on Arnold's contention that only noble actions should be chosen if poetry is to rise to greatness.

Another point of some importance remains to be discussed in this connection. To many minds, this insistence on action, subject and theme in poetry betrays limited and ' retrograde ' outlook, in ignorance or defiance of what has been thought on the subject in recent times. It is urged that poetry can have no subject existing outside it. The subject of a poem is thus the entire poem itself, whatever it is. The real subject cannot be abstracted and formulated in so many words. What can, they say, be thus taken out of a poem, and expressed, is the opinion, doctrine,—all extraneous matter which has very little to do with the real poem itself. Poetry, to them therefore, is a " significant form." How can it be possible to analyse to convey the essence of the poem, its real subject, which is but its melody and image—real, no doubt, but with no intellectual meaning. From this point of view, Arnold's emphasis on the right choice of the subject loses much of its application and even meaning. If poetry is music or form, would it not be better to dwell on the importance of the formal beauty of poetry rather than its content, when we realise that there is no such thing as content in poetry. To this objection it may be replied that Arnold recognises the vital importance of form in poetry and the interdependence between the subject and the form. To those who would like to banish the subject from poetry, its meaning and sense, and condemn Arnold for his insistence on what they call his " message " or " criticism of life," it is enough here to say that poetry has no doubt a formal beauty of its own, its music and pictorial appeal. But by virtue of its medium, *viz.*, language and words, poetry cannot simply be content with conveying its appeal through music and images. Words have a sound-value no doubt, but they have sense-value too, an intellectual meaning. To ignore this is to transgress a fundamental canon of art, *viz.*, to respect the limits of the medium chosen and do what can properly be done through it. We in our turn may ask the critic of Arnold, why try to achieve effects through poetry such as conveying emotions through music and images, without the mediation of intellect and sense, when music and painting can do that much better ? This cutting across the frontiers of art is a characteristic of modern times. These experiments and views are no doubt highly profitable in sharply defining the limits and functions of each art. But when the explorations of possibilities are over, we are likely to come back to Arnold with a heightened sense of his discernment that poetry may and should illumine life, dwell on what is significant. This is the conclusion which holds good for the majority of the readers. Arnold's insistence on the importance of the right kind of subject in poetry is therefore certainly justified.

TRANSPORT EDUCATION AND THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.[1]

A. N. Mallik.

UNDER "Publicity, Advertising and Transportation Salesmanship" and also under "Railway Research Department," I have tried to bring out the fact that neither are the officers nor the subordinate staff (except in a few cases) specially qualified for the posts that they hold and specially is this the case in the Rates, Publicity and Commercial Departments of Railways. It will suffice for my purposes if I am able to draw the attention of the Committee to some of the present defects and suggest ways and means by which these difficulties may be overcome.

The function of Transport Education is twofold namely:—

(1) That since the Railway is a large-scale industry, all the economies resulting from such a large-scale production can be had from the industry, and besides all the laws relating to production in general can be applied to Railways in particular.

(2) That since the transport organisation is dynamic,—more dynamic perhaps than any other economic organisation,—there is a constant need for improvement to suit a new set of conditions Any change whatever in any industry or branch of society will react on the organisation of the machine supplying transport and conversely changes and developments in organisation of transport facilities will react on industry and society. It will be evident from such a natural interdependent and close relationship, that the need for its education is of vital necessity, not only to the persons who form the organisation for the production of transport but also of those upon whom such production reacts.

Sir Guy Granet, G.B.E. in a preface to a treatise on Transport has rightly stated "that the wealth of any country depends very largely on the efficiency of the transport system. Like all truisms this requires to be emphasised and explained." In this country, this truism requires to be doubly emphasised and explained, not only upon the persons who direct the "production" of the railway industry, but also upon the "consumers" of the product.

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[1] From Chapter X of the memorandum submitted by Mr. A. N. Mallik to the Wedgewood Enquiry Committee on Railways.

If this premise is accepted, it will be realized that each officer and employee in each department must use every effort to secure the best results in his operations, secure increase in traffic, and conduct his business in the most economical and efficient manner possible. To achieve this result, all employees must know what function he is performing, and be able to appreciate as to what will be the result if this performance is not what it should be. It is impossible for any one to really take an interest in his practical work unless he is given an insight into the theoretical portion of his work also. A particular difficulty, however, lies in reconciling study with this necessity for those who have to enter the railway industry.

In England, United States and the Continent and even in Japan, there is a happy co-operation between the different Universities and the railways, which has led to the organisation of a curriculum (leading to a degree if desired) "of such a character, that the daily work in the office when supplemented by the best attainable instruction shall be accepted as equivalent to the laboratory work of the student of natural science or the library work of the literary student." In other words, the intention has been to give the advantages of intellectual culture by the "co-ordinated practical and theoretical study of subjects" which are the life of the railway man.

In India, unfortunately, due to the wide divergence of opinion and outlook between the managers of the railways and the users, it is not at all surprising that there should be a feeling of distrust and "stand-offish" attitude on the part of the railways, to the Universities, and yet, what may not be achieved, if the practical bearing of the former could be brought into contact with the theoretical teaching of the latter. Such co-operation, I am perfectly convinced, while engendering a greater understanding of the railway problems by the intelligentsia of the Universities (and which later on would percolate to the masses) would give the railway administrations also an unfailing source of recruitment for their services, leading to a possible solution of the problem of middle class and educated unemployed.

In order that such a happy state of affairs may be brought about, it will be necessary for the railways to make the first move and, so fa as the Calcutta University is concerned, I have reasons to believe tha the Vice-Chancellor would be only too pleased to co-operate with th railways. In fact, the basis on which consultation and exchange of views could easily begin, is already in existence, as will be seen from the course required for the B. Com. Examination of the Calcutta University. The course follows very much the same lines as the London University B. Com. Examination and with slight alterations and additions, the course could be made to suit the requirements of the railway staff. So far as the Calcutta University is concerned there will be very little opposition since the principal subjects which will be useful to the railway student are already being taught. A few preliminary matters such as the time of the lectures, fees, examinations, etc., would have to be only settled ; but the most important need is, that there should be a real will and desire on the part of the Railway administrations to co-operate with the University authorities in this matter of common concern.

After having stated what is possible to be achieved with regard to transport education if there was co-operation between the University and other railways, it would be now best for me to review the Railway Board's efforts in the direction of educating the staff of the different Departments belonging to State Railways. On the 2nd March, 1925, the Transportation School at Chandausi was opened and the report in that connection states " that the inauguration marks an entirely new departure in the important matter of the training of railway officers and senior subordinates of India." [1] From the Administration Report it will be noticed, that the courses given were of very short duration and from the meagre details available regarding them, it is doubtful whether the courses of study were at all suitable for those for whom they were meant.

While I am willing to give the credit to the Railway Board for seriously thinking, as the report states, " of providing an institution to give practical training to Junior Officers of Railways," I cannot but deplore that the net result that has accrued, after the outlay of such a vast sum of money is, that with the first onrush of financial stringency the very educational institution which should have prepared the railway officers to cope and grapple more effectively with the causes of the railways' less traffic, has been closed down. Such a policy, to say the very least, appears to me not only lacking in perspective but also foresight.

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[1] Administration Report of Indian Railways, 1926-27, Vol. I.

In any case, due to the fact that the Railway Transportation School at Chandausi was meant for the training of subordinates only, and could not be suitably extended to include a college for officers, the Railway Board decided to build a staff College at Dehra Dun at an estimated cost which was in the beginning considered to be Rs. 20 lakhs but which was increased to 24 lakhs and 90 thousand rupees. The college was opened on the 3rd May, 1930, and had hostel accommodation for 64 officers and senior subordinates as well as residences for the college staff. The first instructions began on the 6th January, 1930. The Administration Report up till 1930-31 does not mention a word as to what staff were appointed in the Staff College but gave details only of the courses prescribed and the numbers of students passing through its portals, until the Report of 1931-32, which was the first intimation and which stated that due to financial stringency "orders have been issued to close down the Railway Staff College and abolish the posts of Principal, Superintendent, three instructors, and two Assistant instructors sanctioned for the College." In February, 1932, the Railway Board decided to close the college—a favourable opportunity for closing arose, due to the need of the Army Department for premises of the character of the Railway Staff College in which to inaugurate the new Indian Military Academy. The property was made over to the Army Department at the end of the financial year 1931-32. Thus was the final fate of an institution which was started with such a "fanfare" of trumpets sealed and finally ended with so little ceremony except the "Last Post" sounded by the first recruits of the Indian Military Academy !!! To crown all, the Board's Report naively suggested "that future training of Officers and probationers is under consideration." [1]

Enough has been said to bring out the central fact that there is very little real interest to educate the officers of the Railways in such a manner that the different branches of the railway industry will be presented in their true and correct perspective.

If such is the perfunctory manner of educating the officers, it can be well imagined what must be the condition of affairs with regard to the subordinates. It would be useless for me to controvert the ingenious statements in the Administration Reports regarding the real utility of the courses given to the subordinate staff in the different area schools, but one fact is apparent, that even if it is taken for granted that such courses increase the practical knowledge of the staff concerned, the theoretical portion, on which the practical knowledge has to depend, is left altogether untouched. Unless such time as the besetting prejudice of the higher officers to the so-called theorist is removed, there does not seem to be any chance of effecting any improvement in any direction.

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[1] Administration Report, 1931-32, Vol. I.

THE FUTURE POSSIBILITY OF A UNIVERSAL RELIGION [1]

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AT the outset let me congratulate those who conceived the idea of having the religious meeting in connection with the Teachers' Conference. For nowadays there is much complaint that there is no provision for religious instruction in our schools and colleges. The subject of our to-day's meeting—namely, "The Future Possibility of a Universal Religion" has been most wisely chosen, inasmuch as there is a prevailing opinion that it is not possible to give religious education to our boys, belonging as they do to so many different faiths.

When I think of religious problems in the country, my mind travels back to the past age, where the eyes of historians grow dim, and legends and mythology struggle in vain to throw light on facts. What a glorious day it was for humanity when a man for the first time in the history of the world realized God—attained Truth! The world does not know the name of that person, humanity has forgotten him, but how much indebted is mankind to that blessed person! For it is he who has shown to humanity that there is Truth behind this evanescent world, that the phenomenal existence, though ephemeral, is not without a meaning, that the mystery of life and death is not altogether unsolvable. That man represented the struggle of the past humanity for thousands of years to unearth the Source of being, and he was as it were the embodiment of the hunger for Truth of millions of men, lost in the abyss of oblivion. If we are to believe with the scientists that man is an evolved mollusc, the greatest landmark in the history of the world was when that being, in the process of evolution, found itself endowed with intelligence and the power of thinking,—that is, when it became man; and another landmark, equally great if not more, was when that man led by an insatiable thirst for knowledge came face to face with Truth.

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[1] Address delivered at the All-Bengal Teachers' Conference held last March at Jalpaiguri.

Can we conceive of the difficulty of the man who thus first realized Truth ? He was a Columbus in the domain of spirituality, but whereas Columbus had men and money to help him, the man who was in quest of the Unknown, had no aid from any quarter. He had no scriptures before him to serve as a chart, nor did he know any one who could serve him as an inspiration and guide. He fought his battle alone—his ardour unchilled by the immensity of the struggle he had to face. It is said that when Buddha realized Truth, sitting under the Bo tree, all the gods and angels rejoiced in heaven. In the same way perhaps the whole of humanity ejaculated " Eureka," " Eureka," when for the first time, Truth was revealed to a man.

The man who got this Truth or realized God, was neither a Hindu, nor a Christian, nor could he be called by any other denomination. We do not know what is the language he used in his eager but unsuccessful attempt to describe the invaluable Treasure he had found, nor do we know by what term he expressed that Truth. We Hindus say that the world is the outcome of name and form, that name and form are the constituents of Maya. In the same way it may be said that the nemesis to the religious life of humanity came when the attempt was made to express Truth through names and forms. For then only humanity was divided into various groups, professing different faiths and creeds, as if Truth could be different. And the consequence of that has often been none too happy.

In the world we find that the weaker persons always try to take shelter under the arms of the strong, and the stronger the person the greater the number of persons that will cluster round him. In the spiritual region also perhaps the same law holds good. When a man has been successful in religious life, that is, has got the ultimate Goal, others flock to him for help and guidance. Thus for each strong personality or genius in the religious world there is a group of persons, who implicitly obey or follow him, and each group goes by a particular collective name. This is perhaps the genesis of different religions, creeds and faiths in the world.

It is an interesting problem—namely, why and how did the mind of men turn towards God ? Before the birth of religion they had no philosophy, no idea of God or Creator, still why did some men engage themselves in search of the Unknown ? Various theories have been adduced in answer to the above questions. It is said that fear is the beginning of religion. When man, endowed with intelligence, found himself in the world, he was seized with fear. He saw he had to contend against various forces for the safety of his mere physical existence. Nature helped him, and nature was also against him. Nature provided him with food and other necessaries of life, and nature also threatened him with destruction. As struggle for existence is the first law of life of all created beings, man began to think how to save himself against the forces of destruction. But in this he had to struggle against odds. There are forces which were overwhelmingly beyond his capacity to resist. So the primitive man with his unsophisticated mind began to worship those forces, imagining they were endowed with life. Legends of every country go to prove that man thus worshipped the sun, the moon, the river, etc. Whatever was powerful, mysterious, or awe-inspiring received the homage of the primitive man. This is the genesis of worship and prayer. Man began to worship the sun, the moon, etc., with the idea that they being pleased with his prayer would cease to cause him any harm, or rather they would protect him against untoward circumstances. As the mind of man evolved, he saw that all the forces of nature were the outcome of one single Force. And he began to worship the original Power; for even with his undeveloped mind it was not difficult for him to feel that to please one was to please all. This was the genesis of monotheism.

But so long as there are two, there lurks the chance of fear. The Upanishad says, " द्वितीयात् वै भयं भवति "—fear arises from the thought of the existence of a second being. So Monotheism did not make him absolutely immune from fear. God might be loving, God might be benign, but man is liable to err, man is prone to sin. Therefore at any moment he might incur the wrath of God. So the boldest amongst men began to search for the remedy against the last trace of human misery. This search for further light ended only when man found that man is one with God—that only One without a second exists, and as such man has no separate existence. Only by knowing that man becomes free from all fears. " When there is none else than me, whom shall I fear ? "

We cannot say that it is only this Promethean attitude of rebellion that brought man ultimately face to face with Truth or to a point when he found himself identified with God. There might be other elements also co-mingling with the feeling of fear. Along with the terrible aspects of the Almighty Power, man might have been impressed with the benign traits of God. As such man's adoration to God might be the spontaneous overflow of his love for Him. And as love deepens, the lover and the Beloved become oblivious of any external existence—nay, the lover and the Beloved become one. The history of religion shows that many devotees, only through love and worship, have found themselves identified with God. Christ said, " I and my Father are one." The Sufi saint Hosain Monsoor declared, " Anal Huq—I am one with God." The Gopis of Vrindavan at times would find themselves identified with Sri Krishna. In any case we may not be wrong to conjecture that some men in the hoary past seized with awe and mystery at what they saw around began to probe into the secrets of the universe till Truth was revealed to them.

But man has not got feelings only. He has got the tendency to work, he has got the capacity to think, judge and discriminate. So we can say that whereas some persons realized Truth through heart, others did the same through action, and still others through discrimination.

Some persons have got the spontaneous tendency to self-sacrifice. They are ever ready to serve others, even foregoing their own interests. As a duck takes to water, as a war-horse becomes jubilant at the sound of trumpets, some men become enthusiastic in the service of others. We can imagine that this tendency existed in some men even in the early age of human history. When these people saw suffering and misery around, they tried to alleviate them as best as they could. And some of these people completely forgot themselves in the service of others. Now, it is our egocentric tendency that keeps us away from Truth, it is our egoism—" I-ness "—that separates us away from the rest of humanity and screens God from our view. If this " I-ness " goes, we are not far from realizing the Ultimate Reality. So we may guess that some men got Truth, when they submerged all their selfishness in serving others, and thus became one with humanity itself. " Love thy neighbour as thyself " is a Christian saying. But this is the core of the teachings of all sages and saints. The Gita says that the best of Yogis is he who considers the happiness and misery of others as his own. These teachings and the tendency in some men to serve others—not only men but all created beings—go to prove that some men realized Truth through actions.

There are some persons who possess a philosophical bent of mind. They are tired of things which are transitory and evanescent. They cannot depend on things which at any moment cease to exist. They find that their friends and relations die. "Where do people go after death?" "Where do men come from, and where do they go to?"—these are the thoughts which oppress them severely. Human nature being always the same, we can imagine that even in the primitive period, some men took to the above line of thinking. They began always to discriminate between the Real and the unreal, and the stronger amongst them began to lose interest in whatever is unreal. Thus through the process of negation, through the method of 'not this—not this,' the blessed amongst them got what is Truth.

There is another method of approach to God. Man suffers chiefly because he has no control over his mind, because he becomes a victim of the vagaries of mind. Ninety-nine per cent. of human miseries have their origin in mind. The medical science says that even physical ailments can be attributed to the unhealthy condition of mind, and when a disease is cured, it is not the medicine that serves as the remedy, but it is the changed condition of the mind which removes the malady. And mental sufferings of every man far outweighs his physical sufferings. So if one can control the mind, one can be free from all misery. Thus the study of mind itself can give one the panacea against all ills of human life. Perhaps some men in the dim, hoary past began to work that way. They began to think, why mind does, like a restive horse, drive man to whatever direction it likes, and why is he helpless. Is not that the worst form of slavery one can conceive of? One who can conquer mind can conquer the whole world, is an old adage, and perhaps even primitive men, through gradual growth, came to realize this, and this led them to study the laws and modes of working of the mind.

All knowledge is got through concentration. There are always ripples in the mind, so to say. When these ripples are eliminated, mind becomes concentrated. When the mind is concentrated, one can get the knowledge of whatever one wants. The moon is clearly reflected in a sea, when the latter is perfectly calm. In the same way when our mind is perfectly still, Truth is revealed. Perhaps by cultivating the art of concentration, some men realized Truth in the past, as some men do even now.

The above four ways of realizing Truth are called Bhakti, Karma, Jnana and Raja Yoga in the terminology of the Hindu religion. If with human instruments we are to realize Truth, rather to make an attempt for that, we shall have to tread one of the above paths. All the religions of the world can be classed as advocating, in the main, one or the other of the above paths. If we wipe off all denominational marks, we shall find that all the religions that exist in the world fall under one or the other of the above classes. And unless the constitution of human body and mind changes, in future also any man hankering after religion will have to take to one or more of the above paths—of course with necessary variations to suit the exigencies of time and circumstances. For the Goal is the same, and starting positions also are similar.

The thought from dualism to Monism represents the entire gamut of religious life. Man starts with the idea that God is different from him, God is the cause of creation, preservation and destruction of the universe. With the development of mind and religious life, man finds that God is not separate from him, that he is a part and parcel of that Divine Being, that universe is, so to say, the body of God. But when a man rises still higher, he finds that he is one with God or Brahman. And when a man loses his identity this way, the external world does not exist for him. The external universe is visible so long as the sense of duality remains. When there is only one, who will see whom ? who will perceive whom ? Thus Monism is the last word of religious thought. When one attains to that state one can go no further. The drop of water is lost in the ocean and it has no separate existence. Thus when a man perceives his identity with the Ultimate Reality—whatever may be the name given to it by theology—all his struggles cease. Trailing clouds of glory man comes from God, his home, and ultimately he finds rest in God.

Thus monism is the goal of all religions. As with science, the finding of Unity is also the end of all religious quests. As soon as perfect unity is reached, science can go no further. Chemistry would stop when one element could be found, which " is the origin of all other elements and physics will reach its Goal when one energy could be discovered which manifested itself as all the forces of nature." In the same way the science of religion would become perfect " when it would discover Him who is the one life in a universe of death ; Him who is the constant basis of an ever-changing world ; One who is the only Soul of which all souls are but delusive manifestations. Thus is it, through multiplicity and duality, that ultimate Unity is reached. Religion can go no further."

Monism is the only religious position which can stand all onslaughts from science. The dualistic theory of extra-cosmic God is giving way before the attacks of science. The creation cannot come out of nothing, nor can a scientific or modern mind believe in the existence of a Ruler who lives on high—above—to shower blessings or hurl punishments upon us, poor mortals. If God is the beloved of all, why are there so much misery and sufferings in the world ? The problem of evil in the universe can never be satisfactorily solved through dualistic conception of God. God as creator or destroyer cannot be proved beyond doubt. If God has no needs, why did He create the world ? If He has needs, how does He differ from man ? If God be personal, there must be someone who created Him. In the last 2 or 3 centuries religion was in terror, when science challenged the theory of creation as advocated by religion. People for a time thought that science would raze religion to the ground. For the last fifty years science has become less dogmatic, but already it has given religion such a great shaking, that many think that religion is in a tottering position. The real problem before us is not whether there will be a universal religion in future, but what will be the future of religion.

Fortunately man is constitutionally religious. A man becomes religious not because science supports religion, nor all become irreligious, because science denies God. Those who seek something eternal and permanent in this world of impermanance and transitoriness, will, of necessity, turn to religion. Their heart will cry for God, though the intellect might be pulling them in the opposite direction. They are safe and all right. But the difficulty arises with those who stand on the borderland of religion. Their love for God is neutralized by their attraction for the world, and in addition when science raises doubt as to the existence of God they fall easy but sad victims.

Besides, one great characteristic of modern mind is that it wants to understand everything through reason. The modern man does not like to accept anything unless his reason is satisfied. Fortunate are those to whom their faith is an unerring guide, who have got spontaneous love for and faith in God, and whose love and faith are not disturbed when they meet with opposite thoughts in life, but what about those in whom faith is lukewarm and reason coupled with doubt and disbelief becomes the source of internal torment ? Nowadays many turn away from God because God as a different entity from the universe cannot be proved. And the number of these persons is on the increase. But to this class of people Impersonal God will be the only acceptable conception of the Ultimate Truth. There is One, and nothing else exists. All these manifestations are but the dream-thought of that Great Being, if Being That can be called. The Vedanta calls that Being Brahman, or Existence, Knowledge and Bliss Absolute: Absolute Existence because Brahman is the substratum of the whole visible universe, Absolute Knowledge, because Brahman is the fountain-head of all knowledge, and Absolute Bliss because on realizing Brahman nothing remains to be coveted. Brahman cannot be expressed in words nor has It got any attributes, for words and attributes are the outcome of human conception. Existence, Knowledge and Bliss Absolute—these words do not define Brahman, but they are simply indications of the One who is beyond the reach of thought and speech. The universe is but the delusive manifestation of that One and in That it will merge at the end of the cycle. An individual being through delusion considers himself separate from Brahman, but when that delusion ceases he will find himself at one with That. The religious quest means the attempt to break that delusion. This conception of Brahman as the One and only Reality explains the universe from within ; it has not to have recourse to the existence of a being who lives outside the universe, to explain the creation. This explanation from within is the basis of all scientific enquiry, and the unity which the Advaita preaches is the goal of all human search for knowledge.

To judge from these standpoints, Monism will be the future religion of the world. In future there will be more and more men who will realize their identity with the Infinite till there will come a time when all will realize that goal. We need not think that it is the fond dream of an imaginative mind. If it has been possible for a single man to reach that state, why will not the same thing be possible for another ! Once the possibility of a thing is established, it is but a question of time for its fulfilment. Besides, compared with the eternal future, the world is but in its infancy. If from an amoeba man has been evolved, why should we not expect that from man will be manifested the hidden Divinity ?

Till that millennium is reached, existing religions will not die of inanition, and dualism and for the matter of that any " ism " with its personal God will not cease to supply spiritual nourishment to mankind. Personal God is but the reading of the Impersonal or the Infinite through human intellect. So long as man has got the consciousness of weakness, he will pray to the personal God for strength, safety and protection. And the personal God is true as much as it is a fact that man exists, and feels he has a body. When the body idea is gone, when man will feel that he is spirit and not matter, he will outgrow the state when there is necessity of having a personal God. After all, we create our own God according to our intelligence and frame of mind. A man's conception of God is that the Almighty Being possesses to some extent the feelings which are common to men. Any other animal perhaps does the similar thing if it can think of anything beyond the problem of physical existence. But through this process man is simply progressing towards the Infinite. It is said that when a man considers himself as a body, he feels he is separate from God, when he thinks himself to be mind, he is part of the Divine Being, and when he knows himself to be spirit, he is one with the Infinite. These are the processes through which a man passes, before he realizes that he is Divine.

Every religion is a path which leads man to the Infinite. Through Christ, Krishna and Buddha man gets a glimpse of the Existence beyond life and death. God is the thread which connects all the religions of the world like the pearls in a garland. Each religion is a separate reading of God. Waters in the land try to reach the sea, and in their attempt they form into separate rivers. But they all in time reach the ocean. With our limited intellect and finite vision, it is madness to circumscribe the greatness of God. There cannot be any religion which is true of all men for all time. Each religion fulfils a definite necessity. Each prophet is born in answer to the particular demand of a particular age or people. So long as human temperament is different, and human minds vary, religions will be different. As human beings we are different, but as humanity we are one. Religion as far as the Goal is concerned is one ; when the *path to that goal* is taken into account there will be different religions. But each religion as an honest and sincere attempt to realize the Infinite is true, just as the photographs of the Sun from different altitudes represent the *correct* pictures of the same Sun. Even the fetichism of the savage people is true so far as that is a sincere attempt to reach the Beyond or cross the limit of the sense-bound existence. And can even the most erudite philosopher say that he has known the nature of God ? Are not even our highest philosophical flights simply the lisping of a child-mind in the eye of God ? So we cannot say, this religion is right or that religion is wrong. The most perfect religion the world has seen will lead people astray if they are not sincere, and the most diabolical religion will lead one to God if one be honest to the very core. The first man who realized God had no knowledge of philosophy according to the modern conception of the term, but he carried through all difficulties simply by dint of his earnestness and sincerity. The same thing can happen at all times.

Will there be a universal religion in future? We may as well ask ourselves, "Can there be a coat which will fit every individual?" There cannot be one religion for all, unless by that word we mean something else than what is commonly understood. Religion if it denotes the march of humanity to reach the ultimate Goal, that is, if it comprises in a general term all the attempts by all human beings to realize God, it is one. But when religion means the particular attempts, they differ and are bound to differ. That there cannot be one religion for all is shockingly brought home to us by the fact that every religion has got so many sects. Out of a few simple sayings of one individual prophet—I mean Jesus Christ, have grown so many churches ; the four truths preached by the Tathagata have given rise to different schools of thought each differing from another as two different religions ; Islam, the most democratic religion in the world, has got different divisions within its fold ; and Hinduism means the conglomeration of a variety of sects and sub-sects. This very fact indicates that paths must vary, though the Goal may be one. That will be the blessed day, when each man will have one religion for himself. Nowadays many are barred out from religion, because attempts are made to force one religion upon all. If Shiva could be the only God existent, those who are not in love with Shiva would be damned eternally. Fortunately for Hindus, there is scope for those who do not like Shiva, to worship Vishnu and attain salvation. Hinduism provides three hundred and thirty millions of Gods for three hundred and thirty millions of people

And they pray:

यं शैवाः समुपासते शिव इति ब्रह्मेति वेदान्तिनो
बौद्धा बुद्ध इति प्रमाणपटवः कर्तेति नैयायिकाः ।
अर्हन्नित्यथ जैनशासनरताः कर्मेति मीमांसकाः ।
सोऽयं वो विदधातु वाञ्छितफलं त्रैलोक्यनाथो हरिः ॥

"He who is worshipped as Shiva by the Shaivites, as Brahman by the Vedântins, as Buddha by the Buddhists, as Kartâ by the Naiyâyikas (logicians) versed in reasoning, as Arhat by those who are devoted to the teachings of Jinas, as Karma by the Mimâmsakas—may that Hari, the Lord of the three worlds, fulfil our desire."

This is possible because from the days of the Vedas the idea has come to them"एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति" that truth is one, sages call it variously. Rose smells fragrant, by whatever name you may call it. Water is called by various names by various people, but it always appeases the thirst of persons who need that. What is there in name ? And are not all the words of human vocabulary inadequate to express the Infinite ? Then why this narrow-mindedness, sectarianism and bigotry in the name of one who is all Love, whose Sun and Moon shine upon the sinner and the saint alike ?

While trying to force our own religious ideas upon others, we forget that we cannot make one religious by any fiat whatsoever. Religion is a matter of inner growth, a process of spiritual unfoldment. We can help a man in that, but cannot force him to believe in a particular dogma. And religion does not consist in believing in a particular creed or doctrine. Religion is the realization of Truth. So Hinduism offers infinite scopes in the matter of religious belief. Hindus say let a man believe in whatever he likes, but let him come face to face with God, let him have a direct perception of God. That is the only test of religious life. The man who has no direct vision of God, may be learned in philosophy, and well-versed in theology, but he is not religious. And the whole trouble arises when man goes to preach religion without realizing Truth. Whoever has realized Truth, is bound to be sympathetic with one and all. Every prophet says that he has come to fulfil and not to destroy. The Gita says that whatever be the form of worship man undertakes, he goes to God. It is not a question of tolerance, but a matter of acceptance. Have you known all the ways of God that you go to disturb the faith of a man ? Who knows, if God will not be nearer to a man who in his simple faith prays to God in a manner which seems meaningless or repulsive to a learned man, but He will be far, far away from the place where there is conceit and pride of learning ?

The question may arise, whether so much catholicity in the matter of religious belief is not tantamount to no religion at all. No. The Hindu theory of worshipping the Ishtam or chosen ideal is a safeguard against that. A Hindu says: I believe that by worshipping Vishnu one will attain the ultimate Goal, but I worship Shiva,—because that great God appeals to me. It is a question of liking and tendency. In the same way, one may say: I am a Hindu, because that religion appeals to me, but Christainty, Islam or any other religion is equally true. As a matter of fact religion in the absolute sense does not admit of any denomination. Religion is given a particular name, when there is a social grouping due to the mutual attraction of persons with similar temperaments. We can conceive of a situation that in the same family one worships Vishnu, another prays to Shiva. By the same logic, in the same family one might worship Christ and another might perform the *Namaz*. But unfortunately society and institutional religions do not allow so much freedom. Usually followers of one faith like to live together, because it offers many advantages. Now when religion comes down to the level of social behaviour, there is conflict of social interests, and that very often goes by the name of religious quarrels.

Nowadays there is much talk of Universal Religion. Perhaps the underlying motive of this is, if any common formula can be found by which all religious quarrels can be put an end to. For when religions fight amongst themselves, people who stand outside the fight lose interest in any religion whatsoever. "If the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted ?" "If there is irreligion in the name of religion, who will save religion ?"

The remedy is that everyone should try to follow his own faith and realize the truths of that faith—realize and not simply give an intellectual assent to them. For the fundamentals of all religions are the same. This is the reason why there is so much talk whether Christianity was influeneed by Buddhism, or if Buddhism was indebted to Hinduism. The main principles of different religions are so very similar that a man is led to think that one was influenced by the other. And when a person gets the direct perception of the truths of one particular religion, he no longer belongs to one paticular religion, he belongs to all religions. Thus a Christian saint may be the source of great inspiration to Mahomedan Sadhaka, and a Mahomedan Faquir may be the object of veneration to a Hindu disciple. St. Francis of Assisi, Rabeya, Nanak, Kabir, Ramprasad and similar other saints command reverence from persons belonging to any faith in the world, only if the latter have got genuine spiritual hankering.

If there is any one person in any religion who has got direct perception of Truth, he is an asset to the whole world. For from him all religions, as a matter of fact, the whole world, get inspiration for higher life. And at no time of the world there was so much need for such a saint as at present. The world has come to such a stage that its civilization is being threatened by an impending war of the deadliest type. The world wants a saviour, who will prove beyond doubt that love, peace, good will, purity, self-sacrifice—these are the virtues which really belong to man, and lust, greed, selfishness—these are simply excrescences which can be thrown off at will, and thereby the Kingdom of Heaven can be brought on earth. Seeing the present deplorable condition of the world, Swami Vivekananda once said that the world wants twenty men and women who will stand on the roadside and say they want nothing but God. He meant that a handful of persons having the direct realization of the Truth, will revolutionize the world and change the thought-current of the present civilization.

Before I conclude my earnest prayer shall be : may you, the teachers, with so much human material at your hands, be the instrument of bringing about that millennium ; may you by your life, example and teachings be able to mould the coming generations in such a way that it can take up the burden of the world and prove that the face of God may be hidden but it is not lost, that at any moment it may burst upon humanity and drive away the thickening darkness, just as the morning sun removes the gloom of a dreadful stormy night.

May the blessings of God be with you all.

A WIFE'S SHADOW

By Kumara-Guru.

I HAVE often felt that in the clash of eastern and western ideals of life in modern India, and in the rapid decay of the older institutions and forms of convention which tended to the well-being of society, and in the slower creation of newer forms, the problem of marriage brings its own tragedy to men and women, who are ahead of the times in their ideals of Right and Wrong in social action. Especially in modern Hindu India, where men and women of the middle class move about in watertight compartments even in the matter of education in schools and colleges, without influencing each other for their mutual benefit and enrichment of their lives, and where young children are left adrift without the home influence of a mother or sister in this machine age of town life, is the tragedy keener, as man in his manliness needs the softer nature of woman to control him, for the upkeep of civilisation and the progress of the human race. One such case came within my knowledge, which is well worth writing down,

One day I was called just after dawn to the house of Mr. A, District Magistrate of Noopur, to attend to a maternity case. His daughter had come home about the time of expected confinement, according to the local custom, when women go over to their mother's place, and generally is this so for the first accouchement. This case seemed to me not a normal one and I was summoned in spite of her protest. It was rather unusual in Hindu households for a man obstetrician to attend to a case, but the safety of the life of the mother demanded it.

As I was crossing the threshold, Mrs. Magistrate cleanly dressed in a multicoloured *saree* in the old fashion of the last century dashed forth to give her bhiksha (alms) of rice in a small bowl to a mendicant, murmuring to herself: " The mendicant has come to receive alms. All will soon be well with my daughter." I turned round and saw a stalwart young man, about thirty two years of age, with handsome features and fine muscular development but swarthy of colour. A small brass vessel to hold a measure of rice or so was dangling from the left shoulder by a clean white strap ; in his right hand was held a tambur. He was twanging the strings and singing sweetly with deep feeling one of Thyagaraja's Telugu songs, " Whatever may befall me, let me not lose Thy grace and companionship, O God."

The Magistrate had perforce to reside for his wife's sake in the heart of the town in a street, with rows of houses on both sides. She, as the reader may have surmised, was an orthodox woman and desired to live near the temples, and would not go far off to reside in a villa or a garden house, and away from kith and kin. He had risen from the ranks to his present position and in spite of his spouse, had given his daughter a school education, and travelled recently abroad to Europe to get into direct touch with western civilisation with a view to set himself the task of reforming his countrymen (*sic*), soon after he should be called upon to retire from Government employ. Generally a late riser, he had been awake owing to the condition of his daughter and was anxiously expecting me. He seemed rather overwrought by the agonised cry of his daughter, but had watched his wife giving alms as I was entering, was probably ashamed of her conduct, became quite wroth, but simply gave way to muttering, "O!" these women harbouring and feeding stalwart vagabonds." As I was an old friend, I grandiosely observed, " You seem nevertheless to be moved by the sweet voice of the mendicant, and he is not levying fees high enough for the service so rendered to you by him. He could have gone into the cinema or talkie if he had a patron, and made tons of money if he so chose." This silenced the Magistrate. The mendicant, I noticed, had already had his cold dip in the clear stream running not far from the town, and wore a perfectly white dhoti. He was clean-shaven, but with a caste mark on his forehead, and walked with care-free gait. The cloth was fairly thick, wound round his waist and barely came up to the knees. One would have said in the west, he was merely taking a sun-bath.

I had finished attending to the patient, handed her and the child to a nurse, and promised to call in the evening. We sat to tea, a habit my friend had cultivated since his return from Europe, who would have gone in even for stronger drinks if it did not touch his purse. The talk naturally drifted towards the incident of the morning, as I referred to the Megistrate's loss of temper with his wife, meek as she was. This prompted him to narrate a few things about the mendicant to excite my curiosity. He was an old inhabitant of the town, the son of the Sanskrit Pandit of the local college, and ran away from home about sixteen years ago, soon after he left school. His old class fellows averred that he was a good Sanskrit student in school, and endowed with a sweet voice, even as a child of five. The Magistrate seemed to have ferreted out this information through his minions and was naturally interested in divining the past of the vagabond's activities, his saintly deportment, and suspected past career. Even my talk stimulated his desire for the inquiry as Mrs. Magistrate was all adoration for the saintliness of the mendicant who, I observed, had certain peculiarities even in the matter of begging alms. He would just stop half a minute in the street, in front of a house singing, and moved on if nobody turned up to give him alms. He would not, like other folk, ascend the steps, cross the verandah and step into the usual passage and shout, "Bhavati, Bhikshām Dehi," meaning "O, Lady of the house, please give alms." The Magistrate remarked the mendicant was a proud fellow and thought himself a superman whom we mortals should look up to. I disagreed and commented that he looked like a man who had suffered recently some intense grief and was mortifying himself to challenge God, as it were, for his suffering, when he did not deserve the mental pain and the affliction, and that the singing was just to drown his grief. Time passed, and the Magistrate's efforts in tracing the past of the mendicant, whom we shall name Dev, proved futile.

An old gentlemen of the town who believed in the efficacy of the reading of the Ramayana in original Sanskrit in the home, to ward off evil and the memory of certain unhappy events in his life, requisitioned the services of Dev as his reader when his scholarship in Sanskrit became known. After early supper, Dev used to sit in the open front *pial* (raised verandah), and read sonorously the Sanskrit verses. He explained them in the vernacular, occasionally lapsing into the Telugu songs of Thyagaraja, relating to every incident in Sri Rama's life, which drew a huge motley crowd of women and children on the road (mats were provided for them by another charitable gentleman). The Magistrate in my friend felt Dev a nuisance in the town, blocking vehicular traffic. The tale of the Ramayana would delight the hearts of the old and the young, and so the traffic naturally diverted top side roads, and disturbed not the enthralled audience. The charity box in aid of this scholar was left on the steps of the house, and the small daily collection kept the wolf from off his door, and he had no more to go round for his morning alms. All the same, after a bath in the river in the early hours of the morning, he would go down the streets singing sweetly.

The Magistrate seemed to have lost all interest in Dev, when suddenly the Post Master, about a year after the arrival of Dev in the town, brought the information that Dev had received a good sum of money from a Railway authority in the north of India, which he immediately placed in the Postal Savings Bank to avoid its being stolen. This became the topic of discussion, for an exciting piece of news about any person was an event for the crowd. The news was even sent me by the Magistrate as my surmise of the self-mortification of the mendicant proved almost correct. A confidential enquiry from the Railway authorities elicited that he was employed on a decent pay when he left them, having started life originally as a labourer (workman) and rose to position a foreman in the Workshops, all by sheer talent and that he recently called for his dues to be remitted to him. The question remained unsolved to the Magistrate and myself as to the cause of self-mortification and why he wanted to lower his self-respect in the eyes of himself and of others.

Dev had meanwhile shifted to a small cottage on the bank of the river, which he had built for himself. The fields in front were the open-air theatre for his Ramayana discourses in the Vernacular and the songs, which were very popular. The men-folk of the town, proud of their English education, rarely attended the meetings since they expected to hear nothing interesting from him, so poorly educated, and it was the womenfolk and their children, boys and girls from eight to twelve years of age, who were charmed by his speech and music. Occasionally, it was reported he delivered orations on diverse subjects; the Magistrate was one day informed of this by his daughter, who had come on a holiday and went with Mrs. Magistrate for several days to hear his discourses. She epitomised one of the lectures thus, when I was present: " After speaking of the heroism of Rama in his obedience to his father and of Sita who underwent the fatigue of travel in the wild forests, he exhorted the audience thus:" O ye women of India, where has your heroism fled ? The ancient books addressed a dying noble woman thus, ' Your father is a hero, your brother is a hero, your husband is a hero, and your son is a hero. What more do you need on this earth of ours and are you not happy now ? ' The heroism is not merely in the battlefield, but in every walk of life. The women of India in the past had been able to achieve this, but now the woman no more feels the heroic spirit to move her father, brother, husband or son. There is only one way to achieve and to recreate the glory of the past, namely the appreciation of Beauty and, to start with, the cult of the beauty of the human form both in man and woman. Of the three ultimate values in life, Truth, Goodness and Beauty, the concept of beauty was least developed in Indian culture (excepting for a few Ajanta paintings in a monastery and a few pieces of granite sculpture in temples), which led to its downfall in the scale of nations. The body cannot be beautiful unless it is brought into being healthy, is fully nourished with proper food from childhood and is properly exercised in the joy of action, and exercise of talent. What do you young women see in your husabands ? Decrepit men with pot-bellies and stooping chests and shoulders, or sickly, worn-out creatures. Begin your (yogic) exercises, for instance, which can beautify the body. Do lead a strenuous life, and not a soft, easy and indolent one. You must have both the zest for life and the restraint in its enjoyment. Be an Epicurean as well be a Stoic. Barring the few male agricultural labourers in the corn-fields, if they have enough to eat, and if their bodies have not been spoiled by the craze for distilled liquor, we can see no beautiful bodies in either men or women or the children of the land. Look at yourself with protruding cheeks and large frontal teeth or your flabby skin and muscles ; all speak of ill nourishment and overspent lives.' And he wound up with a quotation from Kalidasa's Malavika-Agnimitra.[1] When Dev said this I felt that he exemplified in his own beautiful form his ideals and convictions and I desired to consort with him and leave my husband for his sake." The Magistrate was horrified that Dev's power of oration and sweet persuasion had been affecting the moral ideals of his own daughter and was determined that this mendicant's activities should be brought to an end. He imagined that this Dev has been enticing women, and feared that in the remoteness of the cottage and the fields, Dev could treat the women as he chose, because of his mental gifts. He was convinced that the Ramayana lectures may not lead to good.

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[1] With a face like an autumnal moon, her arms well shaped, her breasts compact, her sides chiselled down to the slim waist, and rounded hips.

Act II, Verse 3.

The Magistrate and myself some time later decided to go on a Friday evening, the day dedicated to " Venus " in Hindu houeholds, when his subject, I expected, would be " Love," to see for ourselves how his discourses were so quietly influencing women and the younger generation in their outlook on life. Dev talked of the love of Rama for Sita and of Sita's love for Rama, quoted and explained a verse from Bhavabhuti's Uttararama Charita [1] and said it was all good. Further, Thyagaraja sings, " O Rama, you became great only after you took Sita's hand in yours in the marriage ritual." Of course the Ramanayana is only Sita's episode, but there is a deeper meaning in the song. Man as I am, let me say that man is polygamous by nature. Sri Rama's memories of the love of that princely woman were so sweet that he felt that to take another woman unto wife after her death would be a sacrilege. Such were our women of old."

But he went on, "The Indian imagination has taken deep roots in finding satisfaction in this simile of man and woman to the tree and the creeper, and in the picture of the male colonising unknown lands with the female and the babe in her arms following him, wherever he went. For, does not the Ramayana, which I read to you, merely describe the early Aryan colonist going from the north to the south of India followed by his family ? But to-day man in India in his overweening masculinity has misused this tradition to bring about the abject and willing subjection of woman. O women, rise, and protest, ask for knowledge and freedom, that you may lead a fuller and a nobler life."

Spies appointed by the Magistrate were all around him watching his actions. One day it was noticed that he went to the post office to remit a small sum from his collections. The addressee was a small orphanage in the west coast. This gave a clue to the inquisitors, which was pursued. There was a girl child of two years or thereabouts under the protection of the matron in charge. The registers of the Institution showed that the child's father was Dev and her mother Ri, a famous cinema actress in the city of B ; but the girl child, it was reported, had not the smallest resemblance to the alleged father.

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[1] Speaking in love-laden whispers, their cheeks touching, and their arms locked, they knew not the fleeting hours and the lapse of the night.

Act I, Verse 27.

Was he the real father ? The Magistrate concluded, however, that as his own daughter felt drawn to Dev, he had perhaps a clandestine affair with Ri, and the child was disowned by the mother. It was ascertained that Ri was employed by the premier film company of B, but she had left the studio about four to five months before the birth of the child. Where Ri settled down, what had become of her, and why the child was entrusted to Dev were still a mystery.

About a year later, when the child was not so absolutely helpless, it was brought down to Dev's cottage. Its beautiful features awakened the pity of the listeners, and it became a pet child. One day a young woman (who was no other than the daughter of the Magistrate, whom prudence only had checked in her desire to run away with Dev) came down to the cottage and begged she be allowed to adopt the child as she had lost her own. She told Dev that after all when the child grew up to adolescence, a father could not convey to her the knowledge a mother alone could. Dev knowing that the woman was highly connected, and after a searching look at her, handed over the child. The woman believed that the child was his and hoped to get into intimate terms with Dev, since she had no other tie in this world, her husband and child having both died. Her parents had no more thought for her happiness in her widowed condition, as relations of widows remarrying fell in social status. But the Magistrate would not allow a bastard child (as he thought) to be brought up by his daughter, since he feared he would become the talk of the town ; and I was consulted. The surrender of the child took me off my feet as to the motives of the conduct of Dev. The Magistrate suggested that Dev had perhaps done away with his wife, as she was unchaste to him, and wanted to be rid of the child too. " If so," I asked, " why had he left the child in proper protection and provided sufficient means for her being looked after, so that he could bring her near him and earn a competence for her sake." This seemed an enigma.

As suspicion grew, we later confronted Dev with the accusation of the slow murder of his wife. Our meeting was very abrupt, and he seemed prepared for it. He denied our authority to pry into his past. The Magistrate threatened to use his powers to arrest him, till he could give satisfactory proof of his past conduct. Dev was not to be terrorised. He said, " I am not afraid of the jail and your lock-up. I who could handle huge ladles of hot molten iron and who worked in an iron foundry and in the smelting shops care not for such threats, as

I know full well of hardship and severe labour." I advised the Magistrate to return, and not to arrest Dev on mere suspicion. I now surmised the child was not his. But that some strong sense of duty should have prevailed on him to look after her. We got into touch with the manager of the film company to get at facts concerning Ri and her affiairs with the actors, if any. The manager who wanted to wipe out the memory of the past, and did not like the name of his company to get into bad odour, as it was to his interest that good family women and educated women should come forth as actors in this nascent industry, was very reticent. After a good deal of persuasion he gave out that Ri was married to Dev long ago, but the husband and wife separated soon after her entry into the film studio. He told us that she had perhaps developed an affection for one of the actors with whom she had to appear as husband and wife or as lover and beloved, and that Dev left her when he found that it was no use protesting against her conduct. Whether she came back to him just before the delivery of the child was to us still an unknown factor in Dev's life. Perhaps the lover had thrown her overboard, having trifled with her emotions. The Magistrate still believed that Dev must have murdered the woman and wanted to bring home his suspicion of Dev's conduct. One day his daughter in whom the love for Dev was growing, unbosomed her secret to her mother. "I once lay bare before a man other than my late husband, the doctor who attended to my delivery, and I now propose to go over unabashed to the man I love." The Magistrate therefore sent his unsuspecting daughter, who was stubborn enough not to hand back the child to Dev, to glean facts about the child. Poor Dev succumbed to the honeyed speech and owned that he had married Ri about twelve years ago, that she came back to him at the time of delivery and died in child birth. The Magistrate was not sure this was not a lie. Since nobody could be cremated in the city of B— without a doctor's certificate showing the cause of death. He wanted to verify the fact. Dev was sorry that in a soft moment a strange woman's speech had taken him unawares, and that he divulged the secret of his unhappy past, and feared still that he may be persecuted. So at dead of night he came to me, as he thought, I was the only friend in town and had spoken a kind word in his favour. He announced that he was going away for good, to the wild hills and snow-tops where people would not be inquisitive about his past and its vast misery.

He then confided in me his story, which I shall repeat in his own words:

" You have already known that I belong to this town. I was born late in my father's life. He was aged nearly sixty, when I was barely sixteen. I ran way from home at about that age when I had just started reading in the Local College as he wanted me to be betrothed to a girl of his choice of eight years. I then said to my father, ' Why are we all acting contrary to our ancient ideals of Asrama Dharma. Do not the laws of Manu say one should live the life of a Brahmachari (celibate) up to the age of twenty-four (Brahmin-born as I am) and only marry thereafter a girl of sixteen or thereabouts as the medical works of Susruta dictate ? ' I was quoting scripture like the devil to my father. He lost his temper and ordered me to leave the house. My mother was no more and the tender recollections I have of her ! I had none other to take my side and justify my views to him. True, I was disobeying his order. He taunted me for my refusal: ' You a student of the Ramayana where obedience to the merest wish of the parent is dictated as a sacred duty! ' But young as I was, I did not see my duty was to obey him, as I saw no moral obligation *to retrieve* a father's word as Sri Rama fulfilled his father's enforced promise to Kaikeyi. The upshot was I ran away from home to start a life of my own. You know already I was in the Railway shops at——. Strongly built as I was, I started work in the iron foundry and in the smelting shops. It was uphill work to earn a decent living, to feel the cleanliness of the wonted daily bath, and have a supply of clean clothes. These were all so difficult for a workman and I could take clean food only after dusk after the day's labour. Some years went by, and I went to seek my father's forgiveness. He had taken my disobedience too much to heart, and soon after my arrival passed away. In his last moments he said: ' I am afraid, young man, that in your marriage you will not be happy. I am sorry for the presentiment, but there is no helping it.' I came back to my work and realised what I missed in the life about me, in the works of my favourite poets. The Sanskrit Ramayana is still my prized possession, and so also the works of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti. The workman's life did not give me much time for reading either. I was quite alone, and Sanskrit literature was my only solace. I do not know why I did not leave the place and take up other intellectual work, which is my hereditary profession as a Brahmin.

" When I was about twenty-four years of age, I was left with a ward of about twelve years. This girl Ri, I knew as a child of four. She was the daughter of a Maharatha of the West Coast, speaking a different vernacular. A poor clerk of the workshop, he was living with his wife and this pretty daughter in a small hut, in a dingy place owing to low wages. This man was my only friend. This girl was my pal. My friend's wife suddenly died after an attack of cholera which was raging then, and the poor father, who had come away to foreign parts like myself, was sad after the event. He wanted me to marry his daughter, as he desired that she should be well looked after when he was no more. But I was swarthy and she very fair. He too was a Brahmin, and he did not see why I should not marry his daughter. I gave my consent, as I had no kith and kin to go back to in my native land, and was married to the girl, with due ceremonies. I who was till then called a " Bada Bhai " (elder brother) became the husband of the girl. But for a couple of years, we did not live as husband and wife as I thought my wife was too delicate and that she should grow up to sixteen years of age at least. The father also unfortunately met with an accident and we were left alone. Watching her womanhood grow under my eyes, the animal in me one day got the better of my reason, and we became husband and wife. I was too much afraid to force motherhood on her at such a tender age. I had known a number of Anglo-Indian workers in the shops with higher pay. I had occasion to watch, from a distance, their habits and, the manners of their women-folk. Their women seemed to me, according to my lights, to have no modesty at all in their behaviour to men-folk. I knew that some of the girls had sex experience, even before they were joined in wedlock. Their dancing with men was all too much for my delicate feelings, having never even seen Indian men and women go forth in the streets arm in arm. I then believed, as I do even now, that the Indian way of man and woman walking together, apart, without touching, and without dangling in each other's arms when others see (though not to the extent of an unconcerned distance from each other) is the expression of a delicate human feeling. The custom of aping the European, to my mind, brings man and woman, not attuned to western modes of life, to the level of the beast, approximating to the conduct of animals in their heat. But their sex life somehow affected me. They had begun to use and understand methods to prevent child birth, even though they behaved as man and wife, as they considered they could not afford to rear a child. I taught my wife birth control that she may not have children at an early age, before she was say seventeen or eighteen, and here I sowed the seeds of evil in my married life.

" I do not know if I might have been happier had I obeyed my father's mandate and never left my old town. I soon found that my wife had an uncanny knowledge of rhythm, as I was singing. I thought I should be kindly to her and allow her to find her soul in self-expression ; for did not even the princesses dance in royal households as Kalidasa had depicted in his dramas ? I then arranged for her to learn Nothern Indian *solo* dancing, as I had witnessed in South India in younger days. Her slim form and her aesthetic taste soon brought her to the forefront. As it was an age of the renaissance of women, her capacity as a dancer led her naturally to the ' cine ' world, which was just then starting, and I accompanied her to the shooting of the films. I soon came to be known as the husband of Ri, and pointed out as such. The masculinity in me rebelled, though by now I had risen to a preferment, and I touched no pie of her earnings. I soon hated myself—to be gibed at as the husband of a woman celebrity. What would Browning have felt, I said to myself, if he were not the greater poet but a poetaster and were pointed out in society merely as Elizabeth Barrett's husband, as the Indian vernacular put it.

" I did not relish my wife's leaning on the person of a male, or he to lean on her in the shooting of the film. I was jealous. To me, even now the person of a woman is sacred like unto a flower that is so easily crushed. My Sanskrit education made me feel that no man should touch the person of a woman, except the one to whom she is consecrated, as it were ; and even for the husband to be free with the woman's body within another's view, even to the extent of kissing and holding her in his arms, is a desecration. Her new vocation wrought a great change in my wife. She no longer wanted to have a child of me, as I was from a different community by birth and I spoke a different language when I was young. She began to prefer the art which had made her famous. I found that we could no longer live as husband and wife and she soon left me as she had then the means of earning her own livelihood in the film world. I prophesied to her in deep sorrow, "You will come back to me," varying the expression used by Upagupta, a disciple of Lord Buddha to a courtezan who tempted him ; and so my wife did, of her own accord, under tragic circumstances. Poor girl, she very little knew the temptations of the cinema world. She tried to keep true to the marriage tie, as she said, but came to love the actor with whom she had so often to act as lover and beloved. She soon found that she was with child, which meant her career had to be given up for some time. She felt that she had also probably been infected. Temptation also came later to me, true, when my wife deserted me. I argued to myself why I should not take vengeance on society and run riot. The monogamic ideal of the Ramayana, the Hindu saying "Look on a woman as a mother or sister," and Jesus's teaching "Whoso looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery in his heart," were too powerful thoughts in my mind to throw off easily to the winds. As I knew that the child to be born might lose its eyes if I was not careful, I had engaged a good nurse to look after the child after delivery. I still hoped that I would forgive Ri and take her again as wife, and look after her when she became well. But Ri soon died of heavy bleeding as the Doctor's certificate with me would show you. After she came back to me, on account of the risk of infection. I could not even possess her, I took pity on the poor infant, which had done nothing to blight our happiness and I sent her to an orphanage. I came back to this town, seeking old memories of childhood that I might forget the misery of *my own making*. Sixteen years is a long while and I found the town all changed. I pitied myself for the mess I had made of my life, and so I went a-begging, wanting to die, though I knew I had some dues from the Railway to enable me to live upon, and sufficient for my little needs. And the painful memories of the past slowly faded away and you know the rest of my story. I wanted in due course to open a girls' school so that girls may have sufficient knowledge of health and disease, and would be able to look after themselves in the modern world. My wife's last words were: "Bhai, allow me to call you so, as I did before you married me. You did me a lot of good, a fatherless and motherless girl that I was. I have seen a lot of life in the last two years, which brought me no happiness though I was praised and petted by all and sundry whom I came across. You did not tell me the pitfalls of the life into which I went headlong in the first flush of freedom. My father was wrong in having married me to you, whom I could no more look up to except as an elder brother. I have lost all I have earned. For the sake of my of childhood memories, forgive me for having forsaken you.' Even during the earlier days of my adolescence, I never gazed at the bright Hindu girls except as goddesses, and I could not even speak to them. I would only look up to their youthful faces and worship them, as I was left alone without a mother or sister. Even to Ri's mother I had not before my marriage talked to, except to make a few enquiries. There is now no woman to bring me happiness, as I cannot stoop to girl wives with whom I could not feel as comrades. See how the Magistrate's daughter by mere soft talk wrenched the secret from me that I had married Ri but did no harm to her. Lastly, God has willed that my link with humanity, the little girl, should also be taken off my care. I am now going to the wild hills and the snows of the Himalayas. My voice will earn me the little food I need to satisfy my hunger. I bequeath the cottage to Ri's girl as *a woman must have a roof.* What little is left will do for me when I can no longer walk, and my strength fails me. I shall be away from an inquisitive world, which would deny a new venue for my life's fulfilment, and would dub me a murderer, for all the good I have done to those I have met with in this span of life. So many women have listened to my voice for three years now, but barely have I looked them full in the face during my talks, due to my shylness in the presence of women. I have been smitten by the beauty of one woman, and the memory of it has been so painful. O the mystery of life, and the attraction of man to woman! I do not want hereafter to descend to the level of the animal, and I shall not seek immortality through handing down life. Nature's impersonal beauty shall suffice for me and I leave the world of my early childhood. Tell your friend: ' Judge not that you be not judged." '

I was left wondering at this man, who had such a zest for life and beauty, whose very strength had made him so over-masculine and good, but too soft and bashful to win a woman for himself as comrade, having thrown off the widow who sought him, the one chance for happiness, which recently came to him after the desertion and death of his wife. Lo ! modern education and chains of office have dried up the humanity in the Magistrate. The old order has crumbled, but has *not* changed, yielding place to new, and that is the real trouble with the sons and daughters of India. Will a leader be yet born to preach and show them the way to a fuller life on this earth ?

LIFE-VALUE OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

SRI AUROBINDO

TO have put a high value on philosophy, to have sought by it the highest secrets of our being, to have turned an effective philosophic thought on life and called in the thinkers, the men of profoundest spiritual experience, highest ideas, largest available knowledge, to govern and shape society, to have subjected creed and dogma to the test of the philosophic mind and founded religious belief upon spiritual intuition, philosophic thought and psychological experience, are not signs of barbarism or of a mean and ignorant culture ; they are marks of the highest possible type of civilisation. And there is nothing here that would warrant us in abasing ourselves before the idols of the positivist reason and putting the spirit and aim of Indian culture at all lower than the spirit and aim of western civilisation whether in its brief highest ancient period of rational enlightenment and the speculative philosophic idea orin its broadest, most active period of modern scientific thought and knowledge. Different it is, inferior it is not, but has rather a distinct element of superiority.

It is useful to lay stress on this greatness of the spirit and aim, not only because it is of immense importance and is the first test of the value of a culture, but because the assailants take advantage of two extraneous circumstances to create a prejudice and confuse the real issues. They have the immense advantage of attacking India when she is prostrate and in the dust and, materially, Indian civilisation seems to have ended in a great defeat and downfall ; they can afford to show a superb and generous courage in kicking the surrounding dust and mire with their hooves upon the sick and wounded lioness caught in the nets of the hunters and try to persuade the world that she had never any strength and virtue in her,—an easy task in this age of the noble culture of Reason and Mammon and Science doing the works of Moloch, when the brazen idol of the great goddess Success is worshipped as she was never before worshipped by cultured human beings. But they have the greater advantage of representing her to the world in a period of the eclipse of her civilisation when after at least two thousand years of the most brilliant and many-sided cultural activity she has lost everything except the memory of her past and her long depressed and obscured but always living and now strongly reviving religious spirit.

Culture cannot be judged by material success ; still less can spirituality : philosophic, aesthetic, poetic, intellectual Greece failed and fell while drilled and militarist Rome triumphed and conquered, but no one dreams of crediting for that reason the victorious imperial nation with the higher culture, the greater civilisation ; the religious culture of Judaea is not disproved or lessened by the destruction of the Jewish state or proved and given greater value by the commercial capacity shown by the Jewish race in their dispersion. But I admit, as ancient Indian thought admitted, that material and economical capacity and prosperity are a part, though not the highest or most essential part, of the total effort of human civilisation. In that respect India throughout her long period of cultural activity can claim equality with any ancient or mediaeval country. No people before modern times reached a higher splendour of wealth, commercial prosperity, material appointment, social organisation. As to the later eclipse of the more essential elements of her civilisation, it is enough at present to say that a culture must be judged, first by its essential spirit, then by its better accomplishment, lastly by its power of final survival, renovation, adaptation to new phases of the permanent needs of humanity, not by the poverty, confusion or disorganisation of a period of temporary decline, in which the hostile critic refuses or has not the eye to recognise the saving soul of good which still keeps alive and promises a return to the greatness of a permanent and always needed ideal. Indian civilisation must be judged mainly by the culture and greatness of its millenniums, not by the ignorance and weakness of a few centuries.

The gravamen of the charge against the effective value of Indian philosophy is this that it turns away from life, nature, vital will, the effort of man upon earth. It denies all value to life ; it leads not towards the study of nature, but away from it ; it expels all volitional individuality ; it preaches the unreality of the world, detachment from terrestrial interests, the unimportance of the life of the moment compared with the endless chain of past and future existences ; it is an enervating metaphysic tangled up with false notions of pessimism, asceticism, *Karma* and reincarnation :—all of them ideas which are fatal to that supreme spiritual thing, volitional individuality. We may mark, to begin with, that this is a grotesquely exaggerated and false notion of Indian culture and philosophy ; it is got up by presenting one side only of the Indian mind in colours of a sombre emphasis. But in substance and spirit it is a fairly correct statement of the notions which the European mind has induced itself to form about the character of Indian thought and culture, sometimes in ignorance, sometimes in defiance of the evidence ; not only so, but it has somehow managed to impress some strong shadow of it on the mind of educated India. We will first set right the tones of the picture and we can then better judge the opposition of mentality which is at the bottom of the criticism.

To say that Indian philosophy has led away from the study of Nature, is to state an unfact and to ignore the history of Indian civilisation. Not only was India in the first rank in mathematics, astronomy, chemistry, medicine, surgery, all the branches of physical knowledge which were practised in ancient times, but she was, along with the Greeks, the teacher of the Arabs from whom Europe recovered the lost habit of scientific enquiry and got the basis from which modern science started. In many directions India had the priority of discovery, to take only two examples, the decimal notation in mathematics, the perception that the earth is a moving body in astronomy, *chala prithwi sthira bhati,* the earth moves and only appears to be still, said the Indian astronomer many centuries before Galileo. This great development would hardly have been possible in a nation whose thinkers and men of learning were led by its metaphysical tendencies to turn away from the study of Nature. Moreover, a remarkable feature of the Indian mind was a great attention to the things of life, a disposition to observe minutely its salient facts, to systematise and so found in each department of it a science, scheme and rule. It is perfectly true that Indian science came abruptly to a halt somewhere about the thirteenth century and a period of darkness and inactivity set in, which prevented it from proceeding to or sharing in the greater development of modern science. But this was not due to any increase or intolerance of the metaphysical tendency calling the national mind away from physical nature: it was part of a general cessation of new intellectual activity, for philosophy too ceased to develop almost at the same time.

The whole character of ancient Indian life and literature is inconsistent with the idea of an exclusive other-worldly bent. The great mass of Sanskrit literature is a literature of human life, only certain philosophic and religious writings are devoted to the withdrawal from it, nor are these by any means as a rule contemptuous of its value. If the Indian mind gave the highest importance to spiritual liberation,—and whatever the positivist mood may say, spiritual liberation of some kind, whatever the exact turn we may give to it, surely is the highest possibility of the human spirit,—it was not interested in that alone, but equally in ethics, law, politics, society, the sciences, arts and crafts, everything that appertains to human life. It thought on these things deeply and scrutinisingly, it wrote on them with power and knowledge. What a monument of political and administrative genius is the *'Sukraniti*, to take one example only, and what a mirror of the practical organisation of a great civilised people! Indian art was not always solely or principally hieratic,—it seems so only because it is in the temples and cave cathedrals that it has survived,—but devoted, as the old literature testifies, as much to the court and the city as to the temple and monastery. Indian education, of women as well as of men, was more rich and comprehensive and many-sided than any system of education has been before modern times. The documents which prove these things are now available to anyone who cares to study, and it is time that this parrot talk about the unpractically metaphysical, quietistically anti-vital character of Indian civilisation should cease and give place to a true and understanding estimate.

But it is perfectly true that Indian culture has always set the highest value on that in man which rises beyond the ordinary terrestrial preoccupation. The sentiment of the Bengali poet, singer and devotee of the Divine Mother,—

> How rich an estate man lies fallow here!
> If this were tilled, a golden crop could spring,—

expresses the real Indian feeling about human life; but it is the greater spiritual possibilities man alone of terrestrial beings possesses by which it is chiefly attracted. The ancient Aryan culture recognised all human possibilities, but it put this highest and so graded life in its system of the four classes and the four orders. Buddhism first, giving an enormous extension to the ascetic ideal and the monastic impulse, upset this balance and practically left only two orders, the householder and the ascetic, the monk and the layman, an effect which still subsists to the present day. It is this upsetting of the *Dharma* for which we find it fiercely attacked in the *Vishnu Purana* under the veil of an apologue, for its effect in weakening the life of society. But Buddhism too had its other side, its side turned towards action, by which it gave a new meaning and a new moral and ideal power to life. Subsequently came the lofty illusionism of Shankara at the close of the two greatest known millenniums of Indian culture, which did certainly depreciate life as an unreality, a relative phenomenon, and in the end not worth living. It exaggerated still further the ascetic emphasis of Buddhism. But mark that it was not universally accepted, nor admitted without a struggle and that Shankara was denounced by his adversaries as a masked Buddhist. The later Indian mind has been powerfully impressed by his idea of *Maya* ; but popular thought and sentiment was never wholly shaped by it, it leaned quite as much or more to the religions of devotion which see in life a play or *Lila* of God and not a half sombre, half glaring illusion defacing the white silence of eternity. It is only recently that educated India, accepting the ideas of English and German scholars, imagined for a time Shankara's *Mayavada* to be the one high thing in, if not the whole of, our philosophy and gave it an excessive prominence. But against that tendency, too, there is now a powerful reaction. Still it is true that the ascetic ideal which in the ancient vigour of our culture was the fine spire of life mounting into the eternal existence, became latterly its top-heavy dome and tended to crush the rest of the edifice under the weight of its bare and imposing sublimity.

But here also we should get the right view, away from all exaggerations. European critics drag in *Karma* and Reincarnation as a doctrine which preaches the unimportance of the life of the moment compared with the endless chain of past and future existences. The doctrine of reincarnation and *Karma* is simply this that the soul has a past which shaped its present birth and existence and a future which our present action is shaping, that this past and future take, partially, the form of recurring terrestrial births and that *Karma*, our own action, is the great power which by its continuity and development as a subjective and objective force determines the whole nature and eventuality of our repeated existences. There is nothing here to depreciate the importance of the present life ; rather the doctrine gives to it immense vistas and enormously enhances the value of effort and ethical action; the nature of the present act is of immense importance to the Indian mind precisely because it determines not only our immediate but our subsequent future ; there will be found too pervading literature the idea of present action and energy, *Tapasya*, as an all-powerful force for the acquisition whether of the spiritual or the material desires of the human will. No doubt, the present life loses the exclusive importance which we give to it when we regard it only as an ephemeral moment in Time never to be repeated, our one sole opportunity, without any after-existence beyond it ; but that is a narrow exaggerated insistence on the present which shuts up the human soul in the prison of the moment ; it may give a feverish intensity to action, but it is inimical to calm and joy and greatness of the spirit. No doubt, too, the idea that our present sufferings are the results of our own past action, gives a calm, a resignation, an acquiescence to the Indian mind which the western intelligence finds it difficult to understand, and this may degenerate, especially in a time of great national weakness, depression and misfortune, into a quietistic fatalism. But that is not its inevitable turn, nor is it the turn given to it in the records of the more vigorous past of our culture. But whatever is depressing in it, belongs not properly to the doctrine of rebirth itself, but to those other elements which are stigmatised as an ascetic pessimism. But pessimism is not peculiar to the Indian mind; it has been an element in the thought of all developed civilisations. What can be more depressing than the materialistic view of the quite physical and ephemeral nature of human life? There is nothing in the most ascetic notes of the Indian mind like the black gloom of certain kinds of European pessimism, a city of dreadful night without joy here or hope beyond, nothing like the sad and shrinking attitude before death and the dissolution of the body which pervades western litetature. The note of ascetic pessimism often found in Christianity itself,—a distinctly western note, for it is absent in Christ's teachings,—with its devil-ridden and flesh-ridden world and the flames of eternal hell awaiting man beyond, has a character of sorrow and terror alien to the Indian mind, to which indeed religious terror is a stranger, while the sorrow of the world fades into a certain bliss beyond. All Indian asceticism places before the human soul the possibility of a greater effort and concentration of knowledge and will by which it can rise to an absolute being or an absolute bliss. Pessimism with regard to man's normal life, a profound sense of its imperfection, but an unconquerable optimism of his spiritual possibility which, if it does not believe in the ideal of an immense material progress of the race or a perfection of the normal man with earth as its field, does believe in a spiritual progress for every individual and a perfection lifted above subjection to the shocks of life. Nor is pessimism with regard to life the sole note of Indian religious mentality ; its most popular forms accept life as a game of God and see beyond our present conditions the eternal nearness to the Divine for every human being or a luminous growing into godhead. That can hardly be called a pessimistic theory of existence.

Asceticism too,—there can be no great and complete culture without some element of it ; for it means the self-denial and self-conquest by which man represses his lower impulses and rises to greater heights of his being. Indian asceticism is not a gospel of sorrow or a mere painful mortification of the flesh, but a great effort towards a higher joy, towards the completest possession of spiritual being; it has in it a joy of self-conquest, a joy of inner peace, a joy of a supreme self-exceeding. It is only a mind besotted with the flesh or too enamoured of life and its restless effort and inconstant satisfactions which can deny the nobility of the ascetic endeavour or the loftiness of its idealism. Practised not by the comparatively few who are called to it, but preached in its extreme form to all and adopted by myriads who are unfit, its values may be debased, counterfeits abound, the vital force of the community lose its spring and elasticity. It would be idle to pretend that such defects and untoward results have been absent in India. Nor would I accept the ascetic ideal by itself as the sole and the full final solution of the problem of human existence. But even its exaggerations have at least nobler spirit behind them than the vitalistic exaggerations which are the opposite defect of western culture. And the point to be pressed is that Indian asceticism, in its greatest eras or in its real representatives, has not been a tired quietism or a conventional monasticism, but a high effort of the human spirit to rise beyond the life of desire and vital satisfaction and arrive at an acme of spiritual calm, greatness, bliss, illumination, divine realisation. The question between the religio-philosophical culture of India and the vehement secular activism of the modern mind is whether such an endeavour is or is not essential to the highest perfection of the human being and therefore to the fulness of a great and complete human civilisation.*

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* Compiled by Anilbaran Ray from Sri Aurobindo's "A Defence of Indian Culture."

"STINGINESS OR FRUGALITY AMONG THE ARABS."

[The Treatise ('Risalah') of Sahl B. Harun on avarice or wise economy as incorporated in *Al-Iqdul Farid*, Part IV, pp. 232-35, translated and expounded.]

BY NURUL ALAM, M.A.

(THE article will throw light on the economic ideas of the Arabs some eleven hundred years ago.)

Sahl B. Harun was an Arab author and poet who flourished at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century A. H. He was of Persian descent and was born in Dastmaisan between Basrah and Wasit. He later settled in Basrah from which he is called Bisri. He held high offices in the Chancellery at the Caliph's Court. In the reign of Harunal-Rashid he was Secretary to the Barmecid Yahya b. Khalid whom he is said to have succeeded as Sahib al Dawawin. It is not known whether he retained this high office under Al-Amin but under Al-Mamun he was again in great esteem, although the latter had at first little regard for him- Together with Ibn-al-Muqaffa and others, Sahl belongs to the class of those authors who continued Persian tradition in Arabic literature, and as an author he was popular in his day. Sahl was famous for his praise of avarice and misers. The only work of his that has survived is Treatise on Misers ("Risalat al-Bukhala") which is incorporated in the *Iqd*. In this treatise (Risalah) Sahl defends avarice or rather wise frugality and domestic economy, "The rational form of avarice," as Al-Djahiz-remarked. It is dedicated to Sahl's nephews who reproached him on some remarks he had made in praise of avarice. Sahl b. Harun was a fanatical adherent of the Shu'ubiyah (a section of people who do not hold the superiority of the Arabs over the non-Arabs). Goldziher sees in his praise of avarice a Shu'ubi (one who belittles the dignity of the Arabs) attack on the national Arab virtue of generosity. Al-Husri thinks that by this Risalah Sahl wanted to show his literary power only. According to *Muhadharatul-Udaba*, Sahl wrote in support of avarice a book (a treatise) which he presented to Al-Hasan B. Sahl and asked him for a reward, whereupon Al-Hasan remarked on the back thereof, " I assign to you as a reward what you recommend and praise."

Whatever the remarks of critics may have been with regard to the Risalah of Sahl on stinginess, it is certain that the Arabs are famous for their disinterested generosity and they actually abhor the idea of a miser and miserliness, notwithstanding the existence of good many misers among them. They have retained this noble quality even to this day. The evidence of their selfless hospitality is not far to seek. The Book of *Hamasah* and the Pre-Islamic Poems abound with copious examples of their unstinted liberality. They drive the idea of stinginess to such an extreme that they even look upon the sense of wise economy as miserliness. The Risalah of Sahl will, therefore, have two aspects: one, He intended thereby to inculcate upon the Arabs the idea of wise frugality but certainly not the idea of stinginess in the true sense of the term, as it will be unnatural and uncharitable to suppose that Sahl—himself, an Arab—made an attempt to tarnish the national Arab virtue of generosity by advocating miserliness two, As Al-Husri thinks he wanted thereby to make a demonstration of his literary skill.

THE TREATISE (' RISALAH ').

(In the name of God, the merciful, the clement.) May God better your (Sahl is addressing his nephews) condition ; unite you all ; give you the knowledge of virtue ; and make you virtuous ! (better your condition by adopting unanimously avarice as a virtue). Al-Ahnaf b. Qays said, "O the people of Banu Tamim, do not hasten to riot, because the man quickest in fight, blushes the least for flight." (You have attacked me for supporting avarice while you have no reasons to support lavishness. So you will be easily outwitted and put to shame by arguments which I shall advance in favour of avarice or frugality.) On the other hand people used to say, " If you want to judge the faults fully, judge the fault-finder first, because he exposes the faults of others more than his own: (You find fault with me for advocating stinginess while you are not free from the crime of extravagance which is an act of the Devil in the language of the *Quran*), and the greatest

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Ency. of Islam, IV, p. 62.
Muḥadharatul-Udaba, p. 290.

of faults is that you should describe as a fault what is no fault : (avarice or frugality is not a fault, rather it is a virtue which you are wont to condemn) and it is very bad that you should prohibit a preceptor (from preaching stinginess or wise economy) and be persistently enraged with an ardent and fervent counsellor. (I am your wellwisher and do wish you prosperity. So you should not stand in my way.)" By what I have said I mean only to guide you ; to set you a right ; to mend your evil : and to keep intact your opulence to yourselves. (The object of my advocating close-fistedness is that I want to defend you against a future crash resulting from indiscreet lavishness and indiscriminate charity which reduce or tend to reduce you to the state of beggars ; and to keep you un-assailed and un-challenged by indigence and ignominy, and I wish your continuity in wealth and affluence). If I have missed the way of guiding you, I have not missed the way of good will between me and you. (Although I do not know how to guide you properly, yet my intention in advising you to practise avarice is sacred and disinterested. I wish you prosperity and not adversity. I am your saviour and not a destroyer, a friend and not an enemy). You must know that I have advised you to adopt only that which I have chosen for you and which I chose for myself first (before choosing for you) and by which have I become noted in the country and not you. Then I say in this connection what the good man (Prophet Shu'ayb, peace and blessings of God be on him) said to his tribesmen, " I do not desire that in opposition to you I should betake myself to that which I forbid you ; I desire nothing but reform so far as I am able, and with none but God is the direction of my affairs to a right issue ; on Him do I rely." (I set an ideal before you. I am not a hypocrite, I am not going to preach what I have not practised myself. I have myself adopted avarice before my asking you to accept my creed.) How worthy of your reverence should I be, if you would have regard for my intention according as I have observed your due right on me (to guide you). (I shall deem it a great honour done to me if you just follow my instructions respecting the choice of avarice); but you have neither reached (found) the clear and acceptable excuse (for not following my guidance) nor have you performed the duty of honouring (me by acting up to my precepts). Had the description of faults been a matter of glory, I would have refrained from it. (Had avarice been a fault I would not have recommended it to you.)

(1) You blamed me for my telling my maidservant, "Make (prepare) the dough-paste well and nice (with intensive kneading so that there may not be any wastage and unnecessary consumption of flour); and then it will be more palatable to taste and more increasing in its product or volume (due to kneading)." On the other hand Omar B. Al-Khattab (God be pleased with him) said, "Knead the dough well, because it is one of the expanding substances (substances which increase by kneading and cooking)."

(2) You blamed me when I placed my bosom on (held fast under my bosom) a grand and important thing, to the deprivation of a gormandising slave; a very covetous boy; a vile handmaid; and a prodigal wife, and in it there was a precious thing consisting of fresh and pure fruits, and fresh and ripe dates of rare quality. (I held fast these things under my bosom so that these my dependants might not eat and waste as they were not entitled to enjoy precious things like me inasmuch as they were my dependants.) It is against the principles of manners; the order of authority; the equity of custom; and the policy of chiefs that the follower and the followed, and the leader and the led, should be equal and similar in (taking) costly food, rare drink, (using) valuable wears, and noble riding-beasts, as their places in assemblages and the positions of their names in titles and designations are not equal. But those who like feed their dogs with fat fowls and their asses with peeled-off sesame as fodder. (People must live according to their own status and means, and must cut their coat according to their cloth. Extravagance and voluptuousness deserve condemnation in all cases.)

(3) You blamed me for sealing (shutting up articles so that they might not be handled and misused by others), while some of the Leaders of Religion ('Imam') sealed the bag of parched barley and an empty purse and said, "Sealing is better than good faith (in the sense that sealing is preservative while abstract faith gives opportunity and scope for misuse and defalcation)." Then you abstained from (blaming) one who sealed naught (referring to empty purse) and blamed one (referring to himself) who sealed aught.

(4) You blamed me for my telling the page, "If you increased the soup (by adding water) then cook very carefully and thoroughly so that the flavour of the soup may be as tasty as meat-curry itself (that the broth may absorb the property of flesh and the flavour of soup may be as that of flesh itself)." The Apostle of God (peace and

blessings of God be on him), said, " If any one of you cook flesh, he should add more of water to it, then one who will not get flesh, shall get soup (at least)."

(5) You blamed me for patching footwears and shirts, and when I asserted that patched up footwears were more durable and stronger (than your unpatched ones) and yet they are footwears more than anything else, and that patching was an act of prudence and cleverness; that neglect was an act of loss; and that the consensus (of opinions) was in favour of savings and preservations. On the other hand, the prophet of God (May God grant him peace and blessings) was in the habit of patching his sandals and garments, and licking his fingers, and he used to say, " If the foreleg of a goat or sheep (a trivial and unworthy thing) were presented to me I would take it (without despise), and if I were invited to a shank (hind leg of a goat or a sheep) I would accept (the invitation without contempt)." He also said, " One who is not satisfied with lawful things, his daily bread will diminish, and his greatness (importance) will decrease." (Sahl perhaps wants to prove with the help of these traditions that a present be it a trifling one, and an invitation be it an unworthy one, should be accepted and must not be refused, because they are the sources of gain to the recipients of the gift and the invitation; and that prodigal living is unlawful as it tends one to run into debts which minimise one's position, make one hard up and deprive one of easy and happy life in the absence of contentment). The Savants said, " There is nothing new for one who does not wear the old and the shabby." (Do not discard the old and the shabby.) Zeyad sent out a man to seek for him a story or tradition teller and made a condition with him that he (the story-teller) must be a wise one; then he brought him one suitable (to his purpose); then he (Zeyad) said to him (agent), " Had you any previous acquaintance with him ? " He said, " No, only I saw him one hot day wearing a shabby garment while (other) people were in the new, so I discovered (from outward signs) in him intellect and culture, and I know very well that the old and the shabby are like the new in their own places." (Everything has a value attached to it. The intrinsic merit of a man is not to be judged by the turn of his features and the dress he wears. All that glitters is not gold.) On the other hand, God has assigned to everything a value and raised it in respect of position as He has assigned to every age a people and to every place a speech (tongue); "He saves

with poison, kills with medicine, and chokes with water." They asserted that repair was one of the earners as they said that the smallness of family was one of the affluences. (Repair as well as the smallness of a family minimises the expenditure of a family. The smaller is the family, the greater is the savings. So savings increase with repair and the smallness of family). On the other hand, Al-Ahnaf b. Qays set the broken foreleg of a goat (lest its value should be minimised on account of the defect), and Malik b. Anas ordered the sandals or shoes to be rubbed (or cleared in order that they might not give way if left uncared for). Omar b. Al-Khattab said, "Who feeds on an egg, feeds, as it were, on a hen." (An egg, is possibly a hen in making. So an egg is as good as a hen). Salim b. Abdullah put on the skin of a victim, (According to the rituals the skin of a victim may either be retained for domestic use or sold off and the price given in alms to the poor and the needy. So there was no harm if Salim used it as a wearing from the economic point of view and for the sake of savings.) A man said to a certain philosopher, "I wish to present a hen to you." Whereupon the philosopher rejoined, "Reduce it to eggs if you are bent upon doing it." (Hens are costlier than eggs. Hens produce eggs which can be enjoyed or got hatched into hens, so to speak, again. So the hens, being a source of good income, should be preserved and the eggs enjoyed.)

(6) You blamed me when I said, "One who does not find room for lavishment in the existing cheap market, does not find room for economy in the forbiddenly high market." (Buy when the market is dull and abstain when it is dear.) I brought water sufficient and (rather) more than sufficient for ablution. Now when I finished distributing the portions of it (water) to my limbs and doing full justice to them (limbs) with the help of the water left off, I found a surplus of water over my limbs ; then I came to learn that had I been sparing at the outset, the first portion of water would do for me and the last portion would have been a saving ; and the first and the last portions would have been alike (that is, half of the water would have been saved). For that you blamed and slandered me, whereas, Al-Hasan said, in the course of his speech on extravagance, "Beware of extravagance in water and herbage, (extravagance should be discarded even in the use of water and herbage). He did not remain content with the mention of water (alone) but named

herbage (also) thereafter. (This indicates that frugality should be observed not only in water but also in herbage.)

(7) You blamed me for my saying, " None of you should be deluded by your longevity, crook-backedness, debility and infirmity, and by seeing about you most of your children that these things may urge you to bring out your money or property from your possession and transfer it to the possession of others ; to appoint extravagance as a governor in it ; (to spend your money lavishly) and to empower lusts and appetites over it (to expend money on your passions and desires) ; because you may be granted an extension of life ; allowed to live more years to come beyond your own knowledge and surmise ; blessed with issue in your old age (when no issue can be expected of you) ; and may befall you misfortunes which no mind can imagine and no reason can comprehend ; then you will demand the return of your money from those who will not return it and you will express your grievance to those who will not pity you. (In this case to demand your money) will be the most difficult and abominable task for you." (Under no circumstances should you be led to part with your money so that you may not be put to difficulties at the fag-end of your life and in times of need.) For this you blamed me, whereas, 'Amr B. Al-'As said, " Work for this life of yours as though you will live for ever, and work for your life to come as if you will die to-morrow."

(8) You blamed me for my saying, " Extravagance is more rapid in the case of royal treasures and wealth earned by inheritance and in the case of one who does not mean by extravagance the clearance of loans, the aversion or prevention of events and accidents, the upkeep of body and the care of soul, and preservation is more rapid in the case of hard-earned wealth and properties. Who does not mind his expenditure, does not mind his income ; and who does not take into account his receipt loses his fund or capital. Who does not know the value of sufficiency does know (suffer) destitution and get delighted at disgrace (welcomes disgrace and leads a disgraceful life).

(9) You blamed me for my saying, " Earning by lawful means guarantees expenditure in lawful ways. (Well-earned well-spent.) The evils drag towards the evils. (Ill got ill spent.) The good urge towards the good and the expenditure on love is a barrier against love. (Ardour for love goes when love is costly. If love were costly few

people would have pursued it on account of inability to meet the costs thereof. As a matter of fairness love must be disinterested.")

At this you found fault with me, while Mu'awiya said, I have never seen an extravagance but beside it there is a loss. (Prodigality goes side by side with perdition.") Al-Hasan said, " If you want to know where a man got his money from, then look into what he spends on, because one who is wicked and acquires money by foul means spends it lavishly. (Ill got ill spent.)" I have said this to you out of my affection towards you and my good regard for you. You are in the house of calamities, and the dearth and disasters are dangerous and treacherous. Now if misfortune besiege the wealth of any one of you, you cannot have recourse to yourself (You get disheartened and bewildered). So beware of Heaven-inflicted blows and change of positions. (Be frugal and hoard up your money or treasure against misfortunes which may befall you in future.) Then, indeed, misfortune when it comes upon a particular group, comes but to kill the entire group. Omar B. Al-Khattab (God be pleased with him) said respecting slaves, handmaids, goats and camels, "Distribute (them) against destruction (' deaths') and put a head into two heads (divide a particular species into separate divisions so that if death or disaster fall upon one division the other escapes"). Ibn-Sirin asked people, " How do you do to your wealth and properties?" They replied, " We distribute them among ships (as a measure for safety), because if some of them be destroyed, some will be saved ; and had safety been not more we would not have carried our wealth through the sea." Ibn-Sirin said, " Yes, the clever think safety but after all it is a loss." (The clever take the idea as of safety, but to carry goods through the sea is not safe either.)

(10) You blamed me for my saying to you out of my sympathetic concern for you, " For sufficiency there is an intoxication and for wealth there is an opulence (wealth increases by wise economy and decreases by wanton prodigality and carelessness). So who does not guard his wealth against its intoxication (wanton prodigality) surely loses it, and who does not bind his property to the fear of wants (save money against wants) verily neglects it. " You blamed me for this, while Zayd B. Djabalah said, " None is more short-witted than a rich man who thinks himself safe and secure against wants, and the intoxication of riches is more than that of wine." A particular poet said respecting Yahya B. Khalid B. Barmak, " He is a

great giver of hereditary treasure when necessary, a great withholder (of generosity) when not necessary and is more sagacious.

(11) You blamed me asserting that I prefer wealth to learning, because learning is acquired by means of wealth and by it (wealth) people live (' stand ') before they can appreciate the value of learning, for it (wealth) is the root and the root is more deserving of preference than the off-shoot (learning). Then you said, " How is this ? " On the other hand, a leading sage was asked, " Are the rich better or the learned ? " He answered. " The learned." He was questioned (again), " Then what is the matter with the learned who come to the doors of the rich more than the rich do to theirs ? " He rejoined, " That is because of the acquaintance of the learned with the excellence (superiority) of wealth and the ignorance of the rich about the right and truth of learning." Then I said, " Their (of wealth and learning) very condition is the proper judge between them, and how can a thing (wealth) to which all are needy be equal to a thing (learning) which one can do without ? (The demand for money is universal, while the demand for learning is not so. One can do without learning but cannot do without money. Hence the value of money is greater than that of learning.)" The Apostle of God bade the rich rear sheep and the poor the fowls (to live within one's means). AbuBakr (God be pleased with him) said, " I do hate the members of a family who spend (run through) the subsistence of days together in a single day." Abul-Aswad Al-Dua'li used to tell his son, " Stretch (be liberal) if God expand for you your sustenance and restrain (curtail your expenditure if He contract (your livelihood). (Cut your coat according to your cloth.)"

(12) You blamed me when I said, " The superiority of wealth over victuals is just like the superiority of tools which are in the house ; they are used when required and lie idle when not required. (Food is meant only for consumption and it serves only one impending need, while wealth serves both the present and future needs. So save wealth even by reducing the cost of food.)"

Al-Husain B. Al-Mundhir said, " I wish to have gold (wealth) like the Mount 'Uhud' which I would not utilise in any way." He was asked, " Then what would you do with it ? " He said, "I would not require to use it as there would be many to serve me gratis for wealth is a master." (Wealth has such an influence that it will lead persons to volunteer free services to me.) A certain wise man said, " You must earn and seek riches because if there were in it nothing but that it were a power in your heart and humbleness (weakness) in that of your enemy (wealth strikes terror into the heart of the enemy and gives impetus to the mind of the possessor), then the happiness in it would have been excessive and the benefit great." I am not to give up the course adopted by the Prophets, the teachings of the Caliphs and the instructions of the savants to imitate (the examples of) the frivolous and the thoughtless. You can neither refuse or refute (My cogent arguments in favour of frugality) nor can you contradict my (sound) judgment. (You cannot prove my judgment as wrong or weak.) So put forward your vision before your resolution (Look before you leap) and examine your wealth (money) before you examine what you have (your need). (Count your purse before you take to bargain.) Peace be on you.

Short notices of some of the authorities quoted in the 'Risalah.'

(*a*) Malik B. Anas: He is a Muslim Jurist, the leader (' Imam') of the school (" Madhhab ") of the Malikis which is named after him and called briefly the Imam of Medina. He comes from Banu Taim (Kuraish). He was a traditionist like his grandfather and his uncle on the father's side. According to Kitabul Aghani, he is said to have first chosen to become a minstrel and only exchanged his career for the study of Fiqh on his mother's advice on account of his ugliness. He spent most of his life in Medina. In 145 A.H. when Muhammad B. 'Abdullah made himself master of Medina, Malik declared in Fatwa that the homage paid to Al-Mansur was not binding because it was given under compulsion, whereupon many who would otherwise have held back, joined Muhammad. Malik took no active part in the rising, but stayed at home. On the failure of the rebellion he was punished by flogging by Dj'afar B. Sulaiman, the Governor of Medina, when he suffered a dislocation of the shoulder, but this is said to have still further increased his prestige. In 160 A.H. the Caliph Al-Mahdi consulted him on structural alterations in the Meccan sanctuary and in the year of his death the Caliph Al-Rashid visited him on the occasion of his pilgrimage. Malik died at the age of about 85 after short illness in 179 A.H. at Medina.

(*b*) Al-Hasan B. Abi-L-Hasan Al-Bisri, a prominent figure in the first century of the Hidjra. During the wars of conquest his father was brought to Medina. There he became a client of the celebrated Zayd B. Thabit and married a client of Umm Salama named Khaira. Hasan was born of this marriage in 21 A.H. Brought up in Wadi'L-Kura, he afterwards settled in Basra. There he won a great reputation for strength of character, piety, learning and eloquence.

While other men who were held in great esteem, such as Ibn Sirin and Al-Sh'abi, being questioned on Yazid's succession did not dare to give their opinion, Hasan frankly expressed his disapproval. He showed his same freedom of speech in his letter to Abdul Malik and Al-Hadjdjadj. He was considered the equal of his contemporary, Al-Hadjdjadj, as an orator ; he was highly esteemed as a transmitter of tradition, because he was believed to have been personally acquainted with 70 of those who took part in the Battle of Badr, although his chief authority was Anas B. Malik. He exercised a lasting influence on the development of Sufism, by his ascetic piety, which shone all the more by contrast, as by his time a worldly spirit had penetrated all classes in Islam. Numerous pious sayings are placed on his lips and the Sufis see in him a predecessor, whom they quote as often as do the orthodox Sunnis. Almost all religious movements within Islam go back to Hasan. He died full of honour on the 1st of Radjab 110 A.H. and the whole city of Basra attended his obsequies.

(*c*) Al-Ahnaf B. Qays: He belonged to the Tamimite race. He was born in the time of heathenism. His tribe embraced Islam at his instance. He took a leading part in the conquest of Irán after the death of the Prophet. He conquered the country of Kohistan, the towns of Hirat, Merw, Merwened and Balkh and other important places. A castle near Merwened was named after him. He hindered the Persian King from getting a firm footing anywhere. He was for some time Deputy Governor of a part of Khorasan. He was a partisan of 'Ali in the battle of Siffin as well as in the latter's battle with 'Aisha. He advised against Abu Musa being appointed arbiter. When called to Damascus by Mu'awiya to give his consent to the designation of his son, Yazid, to the succession, Al-Ahnaf spoke the well-known sentence, "I fear God if I lie, and you if I speak the truth." He died without a descendant and was buried at Kufa.

(*d*) Abul-Aswad Al-Dua'li: He was a poet of the Dil tribe. He settled amongst the Hudhailites. He was a partisan of 'Ali for whom he fought at Siffin. He wrote many dirges on 'Ali. He died of Plague at the age of 85.

Ency. of Islam, etc.

BUDDHISTIC NIRVĀṆA.

PROF. PHANIBHUSAN ROY, M.A.

BUDDHISTIC Nirvāṇa which, as preached by the Buddha, is the *Summum Bonum* of human (nay, all sentient) life, appears, at first view, to be a doctrine of mere negation and nothingness. To attain to Nirvāṇa is to attain to nothingness—this seems to be the most plausible (also popular) interpretation of the Nirvāṇa doctrine of the Blessed one. So, one may say,—the Buddha was the first nihilist of the world, only he did not preach political, but spiritual, nihilism. Belial,—one of the fallen angels in the infernal council, thus argues:—

> " Sad cure! for who would lose,
> Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
> Those thoughts that wander through eternity .... "

Mingling our voice with that of Belial, we may also say (though our condition is not so desperate!)—" who would lose this intellectual being " for if Nirvāṇa is nothing but nothingness, then it is surely " sad cure " for the many ills of life—the many sorrows and sufferings and woes of human existence. Be that as it may, surely it is one thing to regard life as full of sorrow, but it is quite another thing to adopt the doctrine of nothingness as the final goal of life. That is to say, however much ready we are to look upon " life " as never-ending misery, we shall scarcely be willing to accept nothingness as the highest good of life. Void, annihilation, nothingness—if this be highest good of life, then it is merrier to be roasted in hell-fire through eternity. Indeed, the pain of hell-suffering can never be equal to the unutterable misery of annihilation, negation and nothingness. So it is clear if Nirvāṇa were nihilism, it would have scarcely appealed to the hearts and imagination of men and women in their hour of supreme need.[1] Moreover, a historical fact should be borne in mind here.

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[1] So much has been written, and so ably, about the nihilsm of the Buddha that it would be scarcely possible for us to throw any new light upon the discussion. Suffice it to say that without entering into any metaphysical niceties or hair-splitting arguments, we can prove. nay demonstrate, simply by following the logic of common sense, that the Buddha was not and could never have been a nihilist. Cārvāka or Bṛhaspati was a thorough-going Ucchedavādin (nihilist)—so he unhesitatingly preached the doctrine of " Eat, drink and be merry " to men and women and asked them to pursue the path of dalliance as the path of supreme realisation in life. So, of Cārvāka, we may very well say, " A tree is known by its fruit" ; that is

The Buddha was never a man of faith (he believed in no god or God) but he was really the Illuminated one, the Buddha—the grandest logician of the world—the Wise Man *par excellence* of all history. Now, is it possible that a man of his intellectual eminence could be guilty of such inanity, such frivolity that the goal of all life was nothing but nothingness, void, annihilation? Any one with the least possible common sense about him would admit that Nirvāṇa as nihilism could never have been the view of the Buddha. Indeed, the Buddha was never an adherent of the Bṛhaspati's school of thought and he never accepted "Eat, drink and be merry" as his motto of life. Besides, that Nirvāṇa is nothingness or non-existence can never be logically established. It is well-known that the Buddha did not put credence in real existence, for the Blessed one always laid special emphasis upon

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to say, a nihilist can never give us anything better than the "Eat, drink and be merry" philosophy of life. But then we have no real quarrel with Cārvāka for if death (physical dissolution) is indeed the ultimate goal of life then like condemned criminals let us enjoy life as best as we can. Now, whether the Buddha was a nihilist or not, this much must be conceded by all that the scheme of life that the Blessed one set up before men and women was a scheme of life-long moral endeavour and earnestness. So the question is if the Buddha were really a nihilist, how could he then point out the arduous path of Vinaya and Śīla regulation to his countless followers? There were many intelligent men among his earliest followers; many times many of them put pertinent and pointed queries to the Master about the intricate problems of the religion of the Tathāgata; now if any one of them, looking upon Buddhism as nothing but Cārvākism, had (logically, also vehemently) opposed the rigorous discipline of Vinaya and Śīla regulations, how could the Master have refuted him and exhorted him still to walk in the eightfold path of the conquest of desire? For, truth to say, it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a man to raise upon the foundation of nothingness the splendid and heroic superstructure of life-long moral endeavour and consecration. Indeed, if the goal of life be nothing but nothingness, if death (physical dissolution) is the termination of everything, if "dust thou art to dust returnest" is the highest truth of life, then how can anybody persuade his neighbour (a man may be so foolish as not to enjoy but how can he persuade others ?) to refrain from the path of dalliance—nay—keep him away from the legitimate enjoyments (such as wife, riches, etc.) of life? Verily, then, the Buddha and the Buddhist must have got the taste of something higher and better or were they madder than mad men that knowing full well that death would terminate everything, they yet withheld themselves from the soul-stirring enjoyment of life? Anyhow, the very fact that the Buddha and the Buddhist did not care to sit down to eat, drink and be merry proves up to the hilt that the Buddha and the Buddhist were not and could never have been nihilists.

Moreover, another side of the question should be taken into consideration here. Cārvāka very complacently assumed that man, by nature, was a nihilist (ucchedavādin)—so he vauntingly called his philosophy of life Lokāyata (popular) philosophy. But the Buddha nailed the lie to the counter when he preached the Four noble Aryan truths and pointed out inexorably the path of Nirvāṇa to suffering humanity. Indeed, to a superficial man the Lokāyata doctrine may be a commendable philosophy of life—to a man who leads a sort of butterfly existence sipping honey from flower to flower—in a world of pleasance and endless self-indulgence. But it may be that this "soft" creature will suddenly be put to some fire-test (the fire-tests of life are unfortunately many) and then when the petals of his glory will wither and drop down and be scattered by adverse gusts of wind, he will find, to his utter dismay, that the "Eat and drink" philosophy of life is totally inadequate for him (standing him in no stead)—particularly in this dark hour—in this hour of his supreme need. Indeed, when the staggering fool (buffeted by the blows of relentless fate) will be stretching his hand for some prop to steady him, some refuge to shelter him—he will find in self-indulgence no remedy, in passionate attachment to self no solace or consolation .... then it may be that he will hearken to the message of good hope, preached by the noblest man of history (Gautama, the Buddha)—the message of conquest of desire [and consequential emancipation

Anitya, Duhkhaṁ and Anātmā ;[1] So people might rush to the conclusion that Nirvāṇa was non-existence. But here an insurmountable difficulty confronts us. Nirvāṇa is not real existence ; this much is clear ; but it is equally emphatically not non-existence, not nothingness. Gautama attained to Buddhahood even in this world of limitations but he could not attain to Parinirvāṇa while living in this world of Name and Form. He attained to Nirvāṇa only after or at the time he gave up his mortal frame. This fact of post-mortem attainment of Nirvāṇa clearly shows that Nirvāṇa is not non-existence otherwise the idea, tried to be conveyed by or through Nirvāṇa, could easily have been expressed by " death." Indeed, those who (and the Buddha was really one of them) do not believe in life hereafter (whether we call it

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from the bondage of sorrow and suffering. However that be, all that I want to emphasise upon is this—Cārvākism, by preaching the philosophy of self-indulgence drags down man to the level of beasts but Vinaya-preaching Buddhism, by proving that man is not merely an animal, saves man from a great infamy—from the quagmire of a great disaster. Indeed, it is a cowardly suggestion (for Cārvākism) to make that man can attain to happiness by merely eating well and living well (of course we have got no quarrel with eating well and living well but it can never be the be-all and end-all of human existence)—no, no—human happiness cannot be got that way—no vittena tarpaṇīyō manuṣyah—(material pleasures cannot finally satisfy man—Katha. Upa.)—hence it is that I look upon ' Sīla-preaching Buddhism" as the greatest compliment that has ever been paid to man. Surely Buddhism has enhanced the glory and the dignity of man by proving that man is not a frivolous and a futile creature that Cārvākism has thought him to be—but he is, on the other hand, intensely moral—a thoughtful, manly benign personage, manfully treading the arduous path of life. In the language of the Vedists, he is a Yajamāna (sacrificer); in the language of the Buddhists, he is a Bodhisatwa (Buddha-designate); in the language of all, he is a hero—the image of Lord God on this earth. Be that as it may, the sublime presupposition of the Buddha that man is essentially moral and is therefore capable of life-long mroal endeavour proves very clearly that not only the Buddha was not a nihilist but in his illuminated opinion no sane man can indeed be a nihilist (Vaināsika).

[1] The most fundamental doctrine which permeates all his (the Blessed one's) teachings like a thread of gold in a necklace of pearls is the famous doctrine of impermanence, cosmic sorrow and insubstantiality—Sabbam aniccam, sabbam dukkham and sabbam anāttam. (1) In the Anguttara Nikāya, the Blessed one thus observes—" A rising shews itself, passing away shews itself, during the existence vicissitude shews itself." Indeed, Yam kiñci samudaya-dhammam, sabbam tam niroddha dhammam ti (what begins must, indeed, always end). Even the gods are not immune from this all-embracing change—for " up to the highest world of the gods, every existence becomes annihilated." Therefore the world is rightly called " Jagat " (that which passes away) in Sanskrit. Echoing the sentiment that all is change, Naciketa (Katha Upa.) has uttered wistfully—Svōbhāvā marttasya (Things of a day are men). Now, what is the good of dilating further upon the matter—in the illuminated opinion of the Blessed one " this solid-seeming universe, it is in a constant state of flux." (2) Sabbam Dukkham logically follows from Sabbam aniccam. We must bear in mind here the famous utterance of Maitreyī in Bṛhad. Āra. Upa. " Bhūmaiva Sukham" (In infinity lies happiness). So the implication in that which is finite and changeful can never give us real happiness. So the Buddha as he viewed the world (Jagat) as aniccam, view it also as Dukkham (Sorrow). (3) Sabbam anāttam—is the denial of self, Soul or real existence to " individuals," as by Sabbam aniccam etc., he (the Buddha) has denied any real existence to the world or to the universe. For fear of prolixity, I refrain from discussing, in detail the theory of the five skandhas and its relation to the upaniṣadic theory of soul. Suffice it to say (for the present) that " Personality in its elements is something alien to our true essence. From this alien thing, we only need to see ourselves......Indeed it is a gigantic delusion to think that my real essence has something in common with the components of my personality."

Thus we may understand briefly the Buddhistic doctrine of aniccam, dukkham and anāttam.

Ātman or anything else) must have to look upon death as non-existence. Now, if Nirvāṇa were non-existence, then to call Nirvāṇa Nirvāṇa and not death, would be not only foolish tautology on the part of the Buddha (who was, after all, the world's greatest logician) but a sort of puckish mystification of ordinary people (which, a man of his benignity could never be guilty of). So we can never logically hold that Nirvāṇa is non-existence. So the question is—what is then Nirvāṇa ? In order to answer the question, we shall have to fall back upon the Brāhmanic theory of creation—for without understanding the creational theory of the Vedas, we shall never understand really the Nirvāṇa theory of the Illuminated one.

The creational theory of the Vedas can be related in a few words. Before creation, the world was enveloped in darkness and was immersed in water (which was nothing but creative activity kept in abeyance) and on this universal flood of water floated Prajāpati on a lotus-leaf. This floating Prajāpati, in some dateless time, was seized with the desire of creation—Kāmastadagre [1] .... — and this desire of creation led Him to the path of creation. Thus the Vedic theory lays a special emphasis upon the fact that the act of creation, which was instantaneous and never ending, was due to the cosmic desire of Prajāpati. That is to say, if Prajāpati had not so wished, nor had so desired, then there would not have been any creation or created things in the world of to-day. Now, the Vedic theory of creation may be illustrated by the following chart :—

Prajāpati (Pre-creational)
|
Desire (Aham bahu syām)
|
Creation

In other words, creation is a tendency to become, and this tendency has its root in the cosmic desire of Prajāpati. So desire, according to the Vedic Ṛṣis, is the root-cause of creation and the world.

The Buddha accepted this desire-theory of the creation of the world but drew from it a diametrically opposite conclusion. For, whereas the Vedic Ṛṣis thought that creation was good, beneficent and glorious, the Buddha maintained that it was evil, malignant and fraught with death and disaster. Now, in order to comprehend fully the implications of such sharp divergence of views, it will be necessary for us to trace briefly the evolution of Vedic and the Buddhistic currents of thought.

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[1] Kāmastadagre..................
Ṛgveda, X Maṇḍala 129-4.

" In the beginning was Kāma, "desire," the earliest seed of mind and the sages in their hearts with wisdom found out the bond of being in non-being."

A Western thinker has observed, " Great men ate the earth and found it sweet." Nobody found the earth sweeter than the Vedic Ṛṣis of old ; so they could view life and the world as something inherently good, great and enjoyable. Indeed, as a mother regards her child, so they regarded the world and the worldly things—in genuine and triumphant joy. Moreover, the intense, uterine longing of the mother for the unborn child was to them the explanation of the whole process of creation. The mother longs for the child—desires—yearns; so does Prajāpati for creation. " Desire " is the " tapasyā of the mother ; desire is the tapasyā of Prajāpati. But, out of nothing, nothing can be created ; life,[1] for example, only can give birth to life. Thus it is that the process of reproduction is at once a process of life and death—the flower must perish in order to give birth to the fruit. Similarly, the mother dies, as it were, to give birth to the child ; in other words, she sacrifices herself for her child. So intense desire and sacrifice—these two are the essential and eternal pre-requisites of creation. These we find illustrated in the grand myth of Prajāpati and the creation of the world. Prajāpati was seized with the desire of creation and that moment Virāt was born of Him and this Virāt sacrificed Himself on the altar of creation for the sake of creation. So intense longing, by itself, will not do ; there must needs be sacrifice of Yajña (one must gladly give in order to have) ; then only one attains to the object of his heart's desire. Prajāpati performed the sacrifice, sacrificing Himself (as does a mother, as does a flower) and as such He became the creator. But so fond was He of His creation that He entered into it (as does a mother into the being of her child)—Ātmanā ātmānam abhi samvivesha (Taittirīya Āranyak)a.

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[1] Let us hazard a speculation here. Validāna (animal sacrifice in a Yajna ceremony) is nothing but sacrifice of life for the sake of creation (of life). We must always remember how the Vedists regarded " Yajna " as the symbolic representation of the work and process of creation. Now, if we accept this interpretation, we must have to admit the logicality of animal sacrifice in a Yajna-ceremony—that out of nothing, nothing can be created. A parallel example may be cited here. A cultivator, sowing a field, is evidently carrying out the Yajna-theory into practice—he is sacrificing (on the altar of creation, *i. e.*, field) or parting with life (seed) in order to facilitate the creatiion of life (more seeds).

In other words, He became immanental in His creation, though He could easily have transcended it. On account of this immanence, this world of ours, in spite of its many ills, was a thing of immense and intense delight to the Ṛṣis of old (those poetic souls of the past —those grand imaginers) so much so that a particle of dust was to them honey-sweet—for they thought that the particle of dust could not have been there but for the loving tapasyā—loving sacrifice of Prajāpati. So they accepted the world as a goodly gift of the creator and were happy thereunto. Indeed, this note of Ānandam rings through the entire Vedic period—from the age of Chhandas to the age of the Upaniṣad. So it is clear that the Brāhmanic theory is (that is to say, ought to be) that the world is a joy for ever because it is the joyous creation of the loving and self-sacrificing Prajāpati.

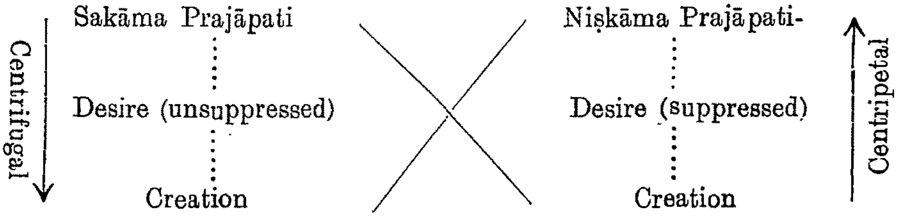
Now, let us enquire what the Buddha had been doing all this time, sitting, in meditative calm under the spreading shadow of the Bo-tree. Fortunately or unfortunately, he had not been eating the earth but rather been tasting the fruits of the tree of knowledge, *i.e.*, of the Bodhi-tree ; and this tasting removed from his eyes the film that ordinarily dims men's vision—and he became, in consequence, the true discerner, the perfect seer, the Buddha. Be that as it may, it was surely the most critical moment in the history of man when Gautama attained to Buddha-hood and blurted out—O you Gṛha-kāraka (Creator or Prajāpati) you will not create any more, because you have no longer any motive to create, as you have been cured of your desire to create (Tanhā) for ever...for then it was that the imaginative wholeness of life was shattered to pieces, which had since then not been repaired. It was the first loss of Paradise by man and the thinking Buddha was the author of the loss. But, what was all this due to ?—let us now reverently ask. The answer to this query would be—the Buddha was faced with the cruel dilemma—To become or not to become (like Hamlet's to be or not to be) and he elected. He chose, he preferred—not to become. In order to appreciate truly the not-to-become philosophy of the Buddha, we shall have again to fall back upon the Vedic theory of creation, as crudely adumbrated before. Prajāpati—desire—creation......this sequence represents the creational theory of the Vedas. The Buddha accepted the doctrine of desires as the root cause of creation but creation he viewed with utmost disgust and abhorrence—for creation to him was duhkham (imperfection or sin as the Christians would put it). Ordinarily a mother looks upon her child as a thing far more precious than herself for whom she may even court death but the Buddha looked upon creation not with the loving eye of a mother but with the critical eye of a rationalist—a philosoper. Therefore it is, as he thought and thought, as he mercilessly dissected and analysed the many-coloured web of life, life appeared to him to be a thing of misery, woe and worthlessness. The Buddha might have reasoned like this :—

Prajāpati (creator) creates but is He not degraded by the very act of creation—for perfect as He is, He can but create an imperfect world ? In other words, Prajāpati can never create Sukham (perfection) but only Duhkham (imperfection)—so creation is bad, even, malignant *ipso facto*. This inherent defect of creation compelled the Buddha to view life and the world as the abode of misery and woe—so not-to-become became his philosophy of life. Indeed, if to be born is to be miserable, then there is no sense in clinging to creation desperately-far better it is not to be and not to become. Strange to say, this Buddhist sentiment is beautifully echoed by Wordsworth in his memorable ode :—

> Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting......

So, birth is a degradation (Jananam hi duhkham) ; life is " l'eternelle douleur " and the world is a long tale of misery and woe, but death is not deliverance, because if the desire to be born again is not rooted out, man will be born again and again and as birth is nothing but imperfection, he will again and again suffer. So we find that the Christian conception of sin, the Wordsworthian conception of non-nature-worship, and the Buddhist conception of Duhkham (imperfection)—all point to the same direction that to be born is miserable. Now, what is the remedy ? To the Christians it will be the re-advent of Christ, to Wordsworth it will be the rehabilitation of nature and to the Buddha, it will be nothing but the end of creation. The creator creates because He desires to create, if only His desire of creation could be suppressed, then there would not be any more creation ; and as creation ceases, automatically will cease then the pain and misery of the created beings.

Suppression of desire and end of creation......do these not sound very much like nihilism and nothingness ? A little reflection will dispel this doubt. The creator creates because He desires to create but when the desire of creation is suppressed, the creator is not suppressed—He does not disappear ; neither creation, as it is in itself, destroyed ; only what was manifest, becomes unmanifest—the tree as it were, again becomes the seed.[1] Let me clarify the position a bit further. The stream of creation moves centrifugally—away from the centre (the creator) ; this centrifugal path is the path of degradation, Sin, Duha (imperfection). But if the stream be re-directed ; if the stream flow up the stream—against the current, as it were ; if it move centripetally towards the centre ; then it must flow on till it merges itself, across the barrier of desire, in the creator whence it originally flowed.[2] Now, this merging of creation in the creator is a great good—for it saves both creator and creation—the creator from imperfect creation and the creation from concomitant and inevitable misery. Let us now illustrate by the following chart :—



The Buddha was the first man to preach this centripetal path of non-desire and non-becoming. Nay, more. The Buddha centripetalised, as it were, the cosmic current of creation in his own person, as

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[1] I humbly admit the inadequacy of human language to describe, with any degree of plausibility, the state which " creation " will reach when Nirvāṇa has once been attained. Anologically I have likened it to the " seed-state " but really it is not—for Nirvāṇa is neither existence, nor non-existence nor a state about which existence or non-existence can be affirmed or desired whereas the " seed-state " (with all its potentiality) is a state of suspended animation, *i. e.*, of relative existence. So writes Prof. Grimm about the matter ;—" We have arrived at the portals of the unrecognisable, the transendental...Therefore no conception and consequently no word fits it. Because no kind of cognition penetrates to the I, nothing whatsoever, absolutely nothing, can be told about it; the rest is—silence." So it is that the Vedic seer, in his mood of ecstasy, characterised it as " Tucchya " (neither existence nor non-existence) and I think only this expression (occurring in the Holy Rigveda × 129) can somehow or other explain the indefinable state of blissful Nirvāṇa.

[2] In order to indicate the state of bliss which a Nirvāṇī (one who has reached Nirvāṇa whom the Blessed one characterised as " Aththam-gata ") attains to, let me approvingly and admiringly quote from Prof. Grimm's book " : Those acquainted with the older Sanskrit literature will see at once that in the Pali word (Aththam-gata) is hidden the ancient well-known compound word, already found in the Vedas, " Astam gata" the root meaning of which is " gone home. "Yet, the Nirvāṇī " goes home "—goes back to God (Prajāpati or creator) " who is our home."

Christ sacrificed Himself on the cross for all the sins of mankind. Thus Gautama became the Buddha and shewed the path of emancipation to all—the path of supreme and final deliverance.

However that be, we are now in a position to define the Buddhistic Nirvāna. The Buddhistic Nirvāna is nothing but "Wishless Prajāpati," the extinguished, non-desirous, non creating creator; and the attainment of Nirvāna is nothing but the merging of creation in this Wishless Prajāpati. The Buddha seemed to have proceeded upon this assumption. If the source be contaminated, the thing that flows from that source will also be contaminated; if the creator (Prajāpati) be desirous, it will be idle to expect the creatures to be non-desirous; so he held up the ideal of Wishless Prajāpati (the creator that has been cured of His creative fervour) before men and called Him by the name of Nirvāṇa. The Buddha might have got his inspiration from the Nāsadīya Sūkta of the Holy Ṛgveda which describes the pre-creational (*i.e.*, non-desirous) Prajāpati most sublimely; if he did not, then also we may call Nirvāṇa the Wishless Prajāpati—for the conception of the Wishless Prajāpati is the aptest explanation and interpretation of the Buddhistic doctrine of Nirvāṇa. We have already proved that Nirvāṇa is neither existence nor non-existence. If Nirvāna is neither existence nor non-existence, then it must be some state about which existence or non-existence can neither be affirmed or denied. The sublimest exposition of this state is given in the tenth Maṇdala of the Holy Ṛgveda (as mentioned before) where the Vedic Seer, in a mood of ecstacy, sings of the pre-creational or the Wishless Prajāpati. Indeed, pre-creational Prajāpati must be looked upon as neither existing nor non-existing—because without desiring He cannot exist as without existing He cannot desire—so Nirvāṇ's most logical explanation must be found in this sublime conception of the Wishless Prajāpati. Therefore it is that the Buddha characterised Nirvāna as Gambhīra[1] (sublime) and Aprameya (unfathomable) and it is obvious that mere nothingness cannot be either sublime or unfathomable. But then the Buddha might have called it Ātman or Brahmaṇ, as Oldenberg pertinently raises the question.[1] The Buddha could never have done that—because the theory of Nirvāṇa itself stood in the way. He might as well have then accepted the philosophy of the Lokāyatikas and called Nirvāṇa nothingness or non-existence as he could have accepted the Ātman philosophy of the Upaniṣads and looked upon Nirvāṇa as Ātman or real existence. Both the procedures would have been absurd—for Nirvāṇa was, to the Buddha, neither existence nor non-existence. So avoiding the Scylla of Lokāyatikism on the one hand and the Charybdis of Ātmanisun on the other, he steered his philosophical vessel safe to the serene haven of Nirvāṇa. Therefore it is that he confidently broadcasted his message of "not-to-become" all over the world and asked men and women to withdraw their transfixed gaze from the superficial, wavy tumult of the sea of creation and resolutely dive down to the stilled depths of it (deeper than the depth of waters stilled at even)—beyond turmoil—ecstasy—and frenzy of passion...into the tranquillised equilibrium of Nirvāṇa. Nirvāṇa is, indeed, this cosmic calm; Nirvāṇam śantam—Nirvāṇa is blisspro found.[3]

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[1] The Buddha said to his disciple Subhūti, "Gambhīran iti subhūte! Śūnyatāyā etad adhivacanam; Śūnyatāyā etad adhivacanam yad aprameyam iti...The Buddha characterised Śūnyatā or Nirvāṇa as Gambhīra, an Aprameya—defining thus to Subhūti that what is Śūnya is Gambhīra, what is Śūnya is Aprameya....Now, if we only equate Śūnya with Tucchya (as mentioned in the X. 129 of the Holy Ṛgveda), then it will be clear to all that Nirvāṇa is nothing but pre-creational or Wishless Prajāpati.

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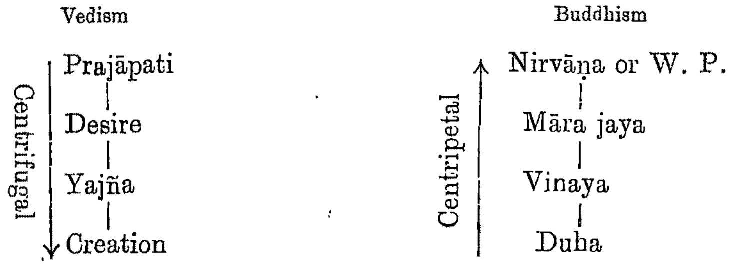
[1] It is well-known that the dectrine of impermanence was that most fundmental and root-going item of belief with the Buddha and the Buddhists. But the question is—did the Buddha believe in Ātman (real existence)? The Buddha readily believed in ajāta (unborn), akṛta (uncreate), etc., etc. Now, if the idea wanted to be expressed by ajāta, akṛta, etc., was the same that was conveyed by Ātman, then the Buddha could have easily used the expression—Ātman and joined his forces with these of the thinkers of the Upanisadic school of thought. But the Buddha did not; so we must start with two suppositions in order to explain the attitude of the Buddha to this question. Either the Buddha thought that ajāta (unborn) and Ātman (real existence) were two distinct conceptions or the Buddha was not acquainted with the expression "Ātman" or being acquainted he was loath to use it. But the second supposition cannot be logically upheld—for the Buddha used the expression "sarvam anātman" most readily so he (it may be reasonably conjectured) must have been conversant with the theory of Ātman. So we are forced to accept the second supposition that in the view of the Buddha Ajāta (unborn) and Ātman were really two distinct conception. Moreover, the Buddha emphatically repudiated the idea that he was a Śāśwata-vādin (eternalism). Now, if the Buddha was not a Śāśwata-vādin, was he a nihilist or an Uccheda-vādin? We are in a position to give a very categorical reply to this query. The Buddha was never an Uccheda Vādin, simply because of the fact that to an Uccheda-vādin life has got no moral meaning whatsoever whereas to the Buddha and the Buddhists, life was a gigantic moral endeavour from shart to finis. So it is clear that the Buddha did not believe in supreme existence (Ātman) or in non-existence (Lokāyatakism). Now, avoiding Ātmanism on the one hand and Lokāyatakism on the other, he arrived at the grand conception of Nirvāna which is not existence, nor non-existence, nor a state about which existence or non-existence can be either affirmed or denied.

[2] Nothing was so dear to the Buddha and the Buddhists as the state of blissful Nirvāṇa. So accordingly they called it (Nirvāṇa)—the unshakeable; the immoveable; eternal stillness; the true; the free from suffering; the refuge; the shelter, etc., etc. As Prof. Rhys Davids rightly observes—They (the Buddhists) had endless lovenames for it (Nirvāṇa) H. Dhammapada defines Nirvāṇa as Paraman sukham (highest bliss); the Blessed one himself defines it as indescribable bliss (M. Nikāya). Nāgasen in Milindapanha (quoted from Dr. S. Mukerjee's Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux, pp. 238-9) calls it "replete with the innumerable and various fine flowers of purity, of knowledge and of emancipation." Buddhaghoṣa (in Visuddhi-magga) characterises it as eternal (Nicca)—not subject to origin and decay and death. Needless it is fer me to dilate upon the matter any further; the Buddha and the Buddhists -looked upon Nirvāṇa as "Uttamārtha"—the *Summum Bonum*, the supremest good of life; as "paramārthasara" (highest reality) and as a state of Blissful tranquillity and stainless bliss.

With the propounding of the Niṣkāma or Wishless Prajāpati, there came, for the first time in the world, a feeling for Niṣkāma (non-fruit-bearing) Karma (action). Now, it is well-known that Yajña stands for Sakāma karma (fruit-bearing action). So a conflict between these two was inevitable. Moreover, the cult of Yajña exultantly upheld doctrine of desire which was the corner-stone of the Vedic philosophy of life but which the Buddha and the Buddhists condemned as the most detestable and dangerous thing in the world. Let us now again hark back to the Vedic theory of creation—Prajāpati, Desire, creation. Now, between Prajāpati and the imperfect creation (from the Buddhist standpoint of view), the fatal link is supplied by desire—so the Buddha most vigorously and relentlessly attacked desire; and with the condemnation of desire, Yajña and the Yajña-regulated life-scheme (of the Aryans) became also an anathema with the Buddha and the Buddhists. Remembering this, we may establish a sort of fighting paralleism between Vedism and Buddhism, which may be illustrated by the following chart:—



Be that as it may, let us now ask the reason why the Buddha did not care to explain his Nirvāṇa philosophy (though requested often by his intimate followers) and left it enveloped in a mist of darkness and doubt. The reply would be that the Buddha thought (and most wisely too) that an attempt at explanation would make the theory (from the strict logical standpoint of view) more nebulous—more darksome. Indeed, the conception of pre-creational or Wishless Prajāpati was rather too vague a doctrine to be made the groundwork of a popular and proselytising religion. Really, it would have been difficult to define Nirvāṇa or Wishless Prajāpati and demonstrate Him as it were, before a numerous audience, however eager and respectful they were to listen and to comprehend. Indeed, the doctrine of Nirvāṇa can never be "in the widest commonalty spread;" it is for the few—the elect, the wise ones—to try to grasp it. Moreover, the Buddha was out to wean people from the Vedic theory of life and therefore he could not both accept (the doctrine of Wishless Prajāpati for example, as adumbrated in the Nāsadīya Sūktā in the Holy Ṛgveda) and reject (the sakāma-karma—theory of the Vedas, for example) the Vedas. So he did the most logical thing possible under the circumstances. Without deducing (demonstrably) "desire" from the Sakāma or desirous Prajāpati, he proceeded inductively and pointed out how in each individual's case, "desire" was the cause of suffering, death and disaster; so conquest of desire (not any metaphysical discussion about it) became the main plank of his programme; thus it is that he could set up Nirvāṇa as the goal of life and Vinaya as the path that would lead to it. Now, it is obvious to all that he who had not trodden before in the arduous path of Vinaya could never be in a position to comprehend Nirvāṇa—so to preach Nirvāṇa (with all its subtlety) to a novice at the very outset would have been surely putting the cart before the horse. Even the sun cannot attain to meridian splendour without travelling in the path of the sky for a considerable time—how is it possible for a man, a dust-created son of Adam (every one is not a "Dvipadōttama" like the Buddha or a Mahākassapa) to understand the meridian doctrine of Nirvāṇa without the previous acquisition of merit, treading (for a considerable time) in the difficult, eightfold path of Vinaya and Śīla regulations. Moreover, in or about the Blessed one's time, there were so many philosophies current in India, that to lay an emphasis upon the philosophical side of his religion would have surely defeated the purpose of the illuminated one, for it would have not only started an endless controversy (about the true definition of Niṣkāma or Wishless Prajāpati, the ultimate meaning of life, the true interpretation of the Vedic theory of life, etc.) but riveting men's gaze on "theory" (of religion), would have surely made them blind or averse to the practice of it. Indeed, the Buddha did not want to start a debating society [1] where people could at leisure discuss the ultimate problems of Being or Becoming but wanted to have about him eager and earnest men and women who, discarding the primrose path of dalliance, the perilous path of passion and attachment, would heroically and resolutely set about to win emancipation and deliverance from the painful, hated, deathful bondage of desire. So practise and be perfect "[1] became the glorious message of the Buddha to suffering humanity. Thus it is that he purposely and deliberately omitted all reference to any metaphysical discussion about Nirvāṇa but nobly and benignly exhorted weak and passion-pale men and women to travel from the pole of desire to that of desirelessness—from duha to Nirvāṇa—without any tangible reference to Sakāma or Niṣkāma Prajāpati. Homer, by omitting the first nine years of war, established the principle of unity which has made his great poem a great work of art : the enlightened one seemed to have followed, as it were, the Homeric principle of unity while developing the grand conception of Nirvāṇa. So he deliberately refrained from speaking what was not strictly relevant to the matter. He could have spoken much (*vide* " Simsapa leaves episode " in the S. Nikāya, also his advice to Mulanka) but he did not—and his silence is as much justified as Homer's about the first nine years of war. Both were great shapers—one, in the world of speculation and the other, in the world of Beauty—and they had to obey laws (which were after all self-imposed), which helped them in the accomplishment of their gigantic tasks.

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[1] Indeed, "Subhāsitā vācā aphalā hōti akubbatō;" (vain are the words (however sweet-tongued) of a man who does not practise). So the Buddha asked his followers to march resolutely in the arduous and difficult path of Nirvâṇa, for he who will march heroically will surely arrive at the grand destination—Nirvāṇa—even if he can never understand the doctrine of Nirvāṇa in all its subtlety and intricacy. A parallel example may be cited here. Those who walk in the path of life inevitably reach the destination of death; but has anybody understood death or understanding. can anybody define death? So, as the followers of the path of life reach death without knowing or understanding it. so the followers of the path of Vinaya will reach Nirvāṇa without knowing or understanding it. Moreover, Nirvāṇa is "Swasamvedya and Vigalitavedyāntara" (flight of the alone to the alone). So to try to define Nirvāṇa is nothing but a logical stultification of self.

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[1] Indeed, the highest advice of the Buddha is " Tatkara bhava " (Be practical)—for " Tummehi kiccam ātappa ; your feet must tread the path, the Tathāgata can only point the way.

At Home and Abroad

Anti-Indian Bills in Zanzibar

Mr. Tyab Ali, President, Indian National Association of Zanzibar, addressed the following telegram to the Viceroy and Sir Jagadish Prasad, Simla, "The publication by the Zanzibar Government of the Draft Bills relating to debt liquidation, land alienation and Clove Growers Association have caused the greatest panic and consternation amongst the Indians. If these Bills which will be introduced in the Legislative Council on April 27, become law, thousands of the Indians will lose their capital and means of livelihood. For the protection of legitimate interests of the Indians, it is essential to prevent these Bills from becoming law. Therefore we must earnestly request Your Excellency to intervene and procure postponement of consideration of the said Bills in the Council lest the adoption through desperation of passive resistance by the Indians in Zanzibar may create critical and difficult situation."

Egypt's Admission to League

Egypt's request for admission to the League of Nations will be decided upon by the Assembly convoked in extraordinary session for May 26. Admission of the new members requires a two-thirds vote of the Assembly. The Egyptian Government had, by the beginning of April, been invited to apply for admission by some 25 Member States. These invitations which are not strictly required under the procedure laid down by the Assembly under the Covenant, are regarded as a sign of the widespread desire to welcome Egypt in the League of Nations.

Most of the inviting Governments have expressed their pleasure at the strengthening of the principle of universality of Egypt's entry. The Iraqi Government declares that Egypt's "entry into the League will be a contribution to the stability and peace of the world and especially the Near and Middle East which Iraq, linked with Egypt by a common tradition and civilisation, particularly welcomes." Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan also express their particular satisfaction and await the decision with genuine enthusiasm.

Iron and Steel Regulations in Germany

The new iron and steel regulations which are to operate from May 1, are announced by Gen. Goering in connection with the four-year plan. The regulations were rendered necessary by Germany's rearmament programme and are intended to eliminate competition between the consumers of iron and steel and to bring their consumption into line with the country's capacity for production. The rearmament industry will be given preferential treatment in obtaining supplies, while the restrictions imposed practically bring to an end the building of private houses, with the exception of a few dwellings for workers.

Locarno Obligations abrogated

Belgium has been released from her obligations as a guarantor Power under the Locarno treaties by the signature at the Belgian Foreign Office this morning (24 April, 1937) of the Anglo-French Declaration and the Belgian statement taking note of it.

League of Nations

The Information Section has recently issued the 1936 edition of its annual publication, *The League from Year to Year.* This booklet offers a concise account of the three outstanding events in the League's work during 1936: the abrogation of the measures taken to apply Article 16 of the Covenant in connection with the Italo-Ethiopean conflict ; the decision to consider the application of the principles of the Covenant in order to strengthen the League's authority; and the Assembly's appeal for a return to international economic co-operation. It describes the League's efforts to deal with important political problems of the past year, such as the repudiation of the Treaty of Locarno and the international consequences of the civil war in Spain. It shows how the technical organisations of the League have developed during the period to deal, in particular, with nutrition, the campaign against narcotic drugs, refugees and the use of broadcasting in the cause of peace.

The chronology of meetings and events connected with the work of the League in 1936 should prove useful to students of international affairs.

The League from Year to Year (1936) may be procured from agents for League publications in all countries at one Swiss franc, one shilling, and 25 cents (Canadian or American).

Austro-Italian Conversations.

Austrian unofficial circles here were surprised, sceptical and puzzled when they learned to-night that Signor Gayda, the Duce's mouthpiece, had telephoned to his newspaper in Rome, that as a sequel to the Mussolini-Schuschnigg meeting, the Nazis would soon be admitted into the Austrian Government.

It is asked whether Italy would still be prepared to guarantee Austrian independence, as in 1934 when she rushed divisions to the Brenner after the murder of Dr. Dolfuss.

The report has strengthened the feeling that the Rome-Berlin axis is the dominant influence of Italian foreign policy.

While the official "communique" stresses the identity of Italo-Austrian views, it is noteworthy that there have recently been divergencies between Italy and Austria and many Austrians feared that they were being handed over to the Nazis.

The Italians felt that France and Czechoslovakia were trying to drag Austria into a "block" hostile to Germany.

German Four-year Plan.

Germany to-day is faced with certain problems regarding loss of colonies, shortage of food, and lack of raw Materials, the solution of which lies in the adoption of the 4-year-plan.

The following details *inter alia* in relation to the execution of the Plan are mentioned:—

Industries are divided into 6 groups:—

1. Production of German Raw Materials.
2. Distribution of Raw Materials.
3. Employment Exchange.
4. Agricultural Production.
5. Price-fixing.
6. Foreign Currency Affairs.

Germans in South Africa.

Open defiance of the South African Government's recent proclamation with regard to South-West Africa appears to be indicated by the official German news agency announcement that about 600 young Germans from South-West Africa have organised a " Corporation of Patriots " to provide the basis for a " German People's Community in South-West Africa."

It is explained that the young Germans who have organised this body have been undergoing provisional training in Germany with the idea of taking charge of all young South-West Africans coming to Germany and training them to become a community, which is " well aware of the tasks awaiting it abroad."

The new corporation has announced that it will never attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of South Africa and is " willing to co-operate in our home in South-West Africa with other sections of the population, but we shall never give up our nationalism, for we regard its preservation as the purpose and meaning of our life."

Franco-Egyptian Differences.

The work of the Capitulations Conference has been interrupted owing to Franco-Egyptian differences marking the first real discordance in otherwise harmonious proceedings.

The French insisted on reaching an understanding in the matter of permanent relations between the two countries, especially in regard to the treaty of establishment which it will be the task of the conference to elaborate.

The Egyptians preferred to see capitulations definitely settled first and as the French disagreed with that, they left for Paris to-night to consult the Government.

News and Views

[*A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions events and movements in India and outside.*]

Tagore to address Nagpur Convocation

It is understood Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has agreed to deliver the address at the main Convocation of the Nagpur University to be held in December next.

Dacca University

Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen has been invited by the Dacca University to deliver a course of four lectures there on "Moslem Contribution to Old Bengali Literature." These lectures will be delivered by the end of next July. The exact dates will be settled hereafter and announced in due course.

New College for Women at Gauhati

The Assam Provincial branch of the All-India Women's Conference is collecting funds for the construction of a building to be used as a hostel for the girl students of the local college and to provide accommodation for about 40 boarders. The building is estimated to cost Rs. 20,000.

It has been decided that the amounts so far collected from the public should be utilized for starting a women's second-grade college at Gauhati, in view of the fact that the Cotton College for boys cannot accommodate the increasing number of girl students.

German Scholarship

The scholarship annually placed by the "Allianz and Stuttgarter Life Insurance Bank Limited" at the disposal of India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie Municp, in connection with the Deutsche Akademische Austauschdienst, Berlin, will be awarded to an Indian post-graduate student for the academic year of 1937-38, who wants to come to Germany for higher studies in economics. The scholarship consists of 500 Marks (payble in ten monthly instalments of 50 Marks each) tenable for one academic year. Applications should reach India Institute before June 1st, 1937, and ought to be accompanied by all the original certificates the student possesses. Applications should be sent to: Dr. Franz Thierfelder, Hon. Secretary, India Institute, Deutsche Akademie, Maximilianeum, Munchen 8.

Bengal Public Service Commission

A Government of Bengal (Finance Department) notification states that the Governor is pleased to appoint Lt.-Col. Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Kt., O.B.E., M.D., F.R.C.S., D.P.H., and Mr. Sudhansu Mohan Bose, Barrister-at-Law, to be Members of the Public Service Commission for the Province of Bengal, with effect from April 13, 1937.

Assam Public Service Commission

Mr. J. K. Chowdhury has been appointed Secretary of the Public Services Commission, Assam. He has been a professor in the M. C. College, Sylhet, for about 15 years.

U. P. Public Service Commission

The following press communique has been issued:—

His Excellency the Governor has appointed Rai Bahadur Man Singh (Indian Police), officiating deputy Inspector-General of Police, and Khan Bahadur Saiyid Abu Muhammad, Magistrate and Collector, to be members of the U. P- Public Service Commission with Sir D. Drake-Brockman as Chairman.

Public Servicecs Commission

The following ' communique ' has been issued by the Bihar Government.

The Province of Bihar, the Central Provinces and Berar, and Orissa, have agreed to constitute a joint Public Services Commission for the three provinces. It will consist of a chairman and two members. The Government of Bihar will appoint the first chairman and the Governors of the other two provinces a member each.

The right of appointment of the Chairman will pass in rotation among the three provinces. Mr. G. E. Fawcus has been appointed Chairman of the Commission. The headquarters of the Commission will be Ranchi.

Orissa University

Preliminary discussions in connection with the establishment of a University for Orissa began at Cuttack recently, the three Ministers, the Principals of Colleges, the Director of Public Instruction, the Inspector of Schools, the District Educational Officer and Mr. Parija attending. The Hon. the Maharaja of Parlakimedi, Premier of Orissa, presided.

The Maharaja stressed the necessity of a University for Orissa. He referred to the financial position of the Government and pointed out that the project could be carried out only by curtailing expenditure on other heads under Education and a careful all-round pruning.

The Scottish Church College

The Rev. Allan Cameron, M.A., B.D., has been appointed Principal of the Scottish Church College in succession to Dr. W. S. Urquhart. He like his predecessor is a native of Aberdeen.

Progress in Girls' Education

"Much of the prejudice against girls' education has vanished, and the increase in numbers has been proportionally more rapid than the increase in the number of boys under instruction. During the year 1934-35, while the increase in the number of boys under instruction was 198,454, that of girls was 135,195.

This is what the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India says, reviewing the progress of girls' education during the year.

The speed of this progress of increase is noteworthy. Twenty years ago the total number of girls attending schools of all kinds was 1,230,698; ten years ago it was 1,842,352; to-day it is 2,890,246, or more than double of what it was twenty years ago. This is remarkable increase and the growth is continuing, but there is still a long way to go before the position can really be considered satisfactory, for while 50·3 per cent. of the boys between the ages of 6 and 11 are attending school, only 16·5 per cent. of the girls of that age range are at school, now that social and religious prejudices which hindered girls' education have largely been dissipated, there is nothing to prevent girls' education from going ahead. But the provision of women teachers in rural areas is a pressing problem which must be solved at once if girls' education is to expand. In a very large number of rural girls' schools there are no women teachers ; where there are, they are mostly untrained and very poorly qualified.

The Patna University

The results of the B.A., B.Sc., I.A. and I.Sc. examinations of the Patna University are published.

In B.A. examination, the total number of successful candidates were 255, out of which 79 got honours in various subjects, 168 were placed in the pass course and 8 appeared as private students.

In B.Sc., 74 students were successful this year.

In I.A. total number of passes was 495.

Daulatpur Agricultural College

It is understood that the work in connection with the starting of the Daulatpur Agricultural Institute is proceeding rapidly and that the acquisition of land has almost been completed. A committee has been formed with the District Magistrate of Khulna, as Chairman.

It is understood that the Institute will be shortly started.

Change in Bengali Spelling

About the Bengali Spelling Controversey Sir P. C. Roy has sent the following for publication:—

Some friends have been frightening me with the report that the Calcutta University is about to introduce certain revolutionary and injurious changes in the spelling of Bengali words. Being curious to know the facts I have made inquiries and am relieved to learn that my friends' fear are groundless. The University is only trying to introduce some sort of system in anomalous Bengali spellings and a slight simplification in one or two cases. The proposed rules (revised for the third time) are based on the spirit of the modern Bengali language. They do not violate the laws of grammar and offer no great violence to established practice. No less persons than Rabindranath and Saratchandra have expressed their approval. The spelling committee appointed by the University consists of capable men who know their responsibility. Their recommendations are very reasonable and many educationists and literary men consider that the rules err on the side of extreme moderation.

It is impossible to frame rules which can please people of all views and the slightest deviation from one's existing practice may lead to some temporary discomfort. But if all change has to be barred on that account, progress becomes impossible. I hope the proposed system of spelling will appeal to all reasonable men as a very moderate and fair attempt at standardisation.

College of Religion

The establishment of a College of Religion at Benares has, it is understood, been decided upon by the authorities of the Hindu Mission. The college will be located in the magnificient building gifted for the purpose by Maharaja Sasikanta Acharya Chowdhury of Mymensingh. The opening ceremony of the institution will be performed in October next by His Holiness Jagadguru Sree Sankaracharya (Dr. Kurtkoti). The aim of the college would be to acquaint the students with a comparative study and the history of the missionary propaganda of the religions of the world. Mahamahopadhyaya Pramathanath Tarkabhushan has been elected president of the committee that has been formed to make necessary arrangements for the establishment of the institution. Scholars like Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee, Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee and Dr. Kalidas Nag will be invited to deliver lectures on Hinduism which will be published in three languages namely English, Bengali and Hindi. The course of study will extend to four years. Fifty students who would be ready to devote their lives to the propagation of Hinduism would be given free board and lodging.

For these purposes it has been decided to raise one lakh of rupees in course of one year. Seth Jugal Kishore Das Birla has been elected treasurer and Babu Gopaldas Chowdhury of Mymensingh, Kumar Hemendra Kumar Roy of Dighapatia, Maharaja Sasikanta Acharya Chowdhury of Mymensingh, Rai Bahadur P. C. Sen, Mr. Anangamohan Lahiri have been elected members of the Committee formed for the purpose of raising funds. The funds will be invested in Government and postal securities.

Discovery of Great Historic Importance

News of the discovery of a steel door of gigantic size in the midst of the Mishmi hills has been received from Sadiya.

It is stated that, while several Mishmis were searching for a 'shikar' in a forest about 40 miles from Sadiya, they accidentally found the door two plates of which are interlocked by means of a big lock and attached properly to a wall constructed with stone bricks. It is further stated that the inside of the compound cannot be had access to except through the door. The hillmen, the report adds, wanted to break open the door with a view to obtaining valuables, but were induced not to do so and to wait for permission from the proper authorities.

It is believed by the people that the discovery is a portion of the remnants of Kundil Nagar, the capital of the great kingdom of King Bhishmaka, whose beautiful daughter, Rukmini, charmed Sri Krishna of Dwaraka and the latter took her away by defeating her brother, Rukmabir, in a great battle. The discovery is considered to be of great importance from the historical and cultural points of view.

Physical Training for Women at Allahbad

The proposals of Dr. Sri Ranjan, a member of the University Executive Council, in regard to the compulsory physical training of women students of the University and a complete re-examination of the question of physical training for men students, were considered by the Board of Residence, Health and Discipline.

It is understood that the Board recommended the deletion of the word " male " from Ordinance 1, Chapter XXXI of the Calendar, thus making it obligatory for the University to impart physical training for all students, including women students. The question of deletion of the word " male " from Grdinance 2 and 4 of Chapter XXXI, which was considered to amount to making physical training for women students compulsory, was referred to the Women's Advisory Board for consideration and report as to whether, in their opinion, the University should introduce the principle of compulsory physical trinining in respect of women students.

Further, the Board recommend that no separate appointment of a woman doctor was necessary. It was decided to postpone the consideration of the proposal in regard to the question as to whether the physical training of women students should consist of Swedish drill or gymnastics.

The proposal for the appointment of a sub-committee to re-examine the whole question of physical training for men students, in order to give " a military bias to such training " was referred to a committee consisting of Dr. Tara Chand, Dr. S. Ranjan and Professor S. K. Rudra.

Miscellany

THE INDUS AND THE NILE

In his discussion about the variation of the Nile Flood, Captain H. G. Lyons suggested certain meteorological conditions extending over large areas in Asia and Africa and affecting the rainfall and floods of the Nile. The variations of atmospheric pressure and of the maximum and minimum sunspots have something to do with it, though the observations of these conditions do not guarantee any production of high or low flood pulses.

His conclusions are:—

(1) "Generally speaking, the curve of Nile floods varies inversely as the mean barometric pressure of the summer months; high pressure accompany low floods, and low pressure accompany high floods.

(2) These variations show a great similarity over wide areas, but seem to be to some extent dependent upon the position of the Azores high pressure action centre.

(3) Taking the monthly means of atmospheric pressure, this relation is even more clearly shown above or below the normal, in months of the rainy season of Abyssinia, coinciding closely with deficiency or excess of rainfall.

(4) Taking the 37 years (1869-1905), in 6 years out of 7 a very fairly accurate prediction of the flood from month to month could have been made, and there seems a reasonable probability and further and more detailed study of the conditions above described may increase the reliability.

(5) The effect of excessive sub-equatorial rainfall in April and May in the neighbourhood of *Zanzibar* seems to have a distinctly prejudicial effect on Abyssinian rains."

In the same way, it is possible that whenever there is a diversion of S. W. monsoon currents from the west and north-west India to either Abyssinia or Burma, there is likelihood of general or local scarcity of rainfall in the region. At the same time a weakness of the wind currents in one area may also be felt in areas in similar latitudes, as the tropical rainfall of all the localities is "caused primarily by the transfer northward of the equatorial rainbelt followed by the northward extension of the south-west trade winds."

But mere meteorological conditions over the Indo-Gangetic plain do not affect the Indus flood in a particular year, snow-melting making a lot of difference in the discharge. There are other material differences also to be noticed between these two great rivers:—

The Indus.	*The Nile.*
1. An antecedent river flowing across the Himalayas and a consequent channel through a synclinorium, from north to south.	1. A consequent river now flowing through a rift valley near the source, from south to north.

2.	Sources of water-supply unsteady: (*i*) Glaciers (snow melting in summer months), (*ii*) Numerous affluents, (*iii*) Seasonal (monsoon) rains (S. W. and N. E.).	2.	Constant water-supply. Equatorial rains (March and September) only. No snows. Seasonal rainfall (monsoon) on Abyssinian highlands (July-August).
3.	Variable channels.	3.	Comparatively constant channels.
4.	Considerable fall—11,000 feet at Gilgit.	4.	Less fall from heights.
5.	Light, friable, shifting soils and fine sandbanks, shallow and shifting torrents.	5.	Rocky parts in upper region, Argillaceous soil, deep bed uniform flow and rapids and cataracts, in lower region.
6.	A Barrage at Sukkur.	6.	A Dam at Assuan.
7.	No lake regulation and hence disastrous floods in season.	7.	Lake Victoria serving as a reservoir. No irregular floods.
8.	No tributary in Sind (Lower Valley).	8.	Tributaries of the Blue Nile and the Atbara in Egypt.
9.	Navigation—Only in flood seasons, though difficult due to sand banks; small native boats sail, flat-bottomed and light, drawing 3 feet of water merely.	9.	Navigable in all seasons and times. Large boats meant for sea voyages and shore-going craft used.
10.	Colour of water—muddy but capable of filtration.	10.	Blue to red due to Fe_2O_3 in suspension.
11.	Ever changing and growing delta and mouths of the river.	11.	Better delta.
12.	No great or old towns, ports ; not yet a well cultivated valley.	12.	Large old towns exist. Richly cultivated valley.
13.	Present average advance of delta 4 yards per year.	13.	4⅓ yards per year.
14.	Climate—Extremes of heat and cold. Scanty rainfall.	14.	Hot and cold seasons. Good seasonal rainfall.
15.	One of the best bridged rivers in in the world.	15.	Not well-bridged.

M. B. Pithawalla: *A Geographical Analysis of the Lower Indus Basin* (Karachi, 1936).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

BIMALENDU BOSE'S DANCE-FORMS

At the Arts Faculty Club of the Calcutta University the Calcutta public was introduced to the dancer Mr. Bimalendu Bose who greeted the distinguished gathering with a performance extending over three quarters of an hour. Bimalendu exhibited a large number of dance-forms, very many of which were unknown to the people of Bengal. It appeared, however, that some of the movements with which the Bengalis are familiar in their folk-dances had been assimilated by Bimalendu. The South Indian forms of expression constituted perhaps a large part of the artist's contributions. He might be said to have rendered the culture of South India, especially of the past, visible to a considerable extent. Bimalendu's art-sense is appreciative and synthetic enough to add to his Indian experiences some of the traits of dance-forms common in contemporary Eur-America. He is a gifted and wide-awake creator of movements. Bimalendu's command over rhythm is noteworthy and he has shown a rich variety of forms. They embody a vast world of diverse emotions from the delightful to the terrible. Bimalendu has succeeded in enriching the Indian art-world with the gifts of his creative personality.

In Bimalendu's performances antiquarian scholars could see a great deal of what might be called applied archaeology. By researchers in folk-arts, folk-manners and folk-life, Bimalendu's dance-forms might likewise be characterized as applied anthropology. In the United States to-day there are attempts on the part of dancers to explore the possibilities of dance-technique as prevalent among the American Indians and imbibe some of their dance-forms in order to present them on the stage which is visited by the civilized or rather hyper-civilized circles. In France and Germany also dancers are making it a point to pick up some of the poses and movements from the old historic figures in the museums and art galleries. Bimalendu, Udayshankar and others in India are explorers and interpreters along the same lines as these modern Eur-American artists. They are taking hints from all sources, and creating new forms out of the movements on canvas and in bronze or stone as well as out of the landscapes and objects of Nature. In the case of Bimalendu the ocean may perhaps be credited with having furnished the leading inspiration in his personality and dance-movements, so far as his distinctive and original contributions are concerned.

Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

THE RÔLE OF THE BHARGAVAS IN THE MAHABHARATA

From the legends preserved in our epic it should seem that the Bhargavas were a Brahmin clan, perhaps more intimately associated with the ancient Kshatriyas than most of the other Brahmin clans, being largely connected with them by matrimonial ties.

The Bhargavas are represented in our epic as irascible sages, domineering, arrogant, unbending and revengeful. To our epic bards they are at the same time omniscient and omnipotent Supermen, who had become so chiefly by virtue of their rigid austerities and the magical or spiritual powers acquired by them. Owing to these occult powers, the Bhargavas were like gods walking on earth, or rather greater than mere gods.

Taking a collective view of these Bhargava references in the Great Epic, we cannot avoid the conclusion that the Bhargava heroes occupy a surprisingly large portion of the canvas—which is said to depict the Bharata War—filling up as they do much of the available space of the background. In short, the Bhargavas are represented in our epic throughout as the people. How does that come about?—"Cui bono ?" as the Roman lawyer would have asked.

Now there can be no question that all this Bhargava material in our present *Mahabharata* is entirely foreign to the plan of the original saga of the Bharatas, occurring as it does almost wholly in the episodic portion of the epic. There should be, therefore, in my opinion no hesitation in concluding that *in our version of the Mahabharata there is a conscious—nay deliberate—weaving together of the Bharata legends with the Bhargava stories.*

The influence of the Bhargavas in the narrative portion of the Great Epic is very evident and can hardly be disputed. But their influence in an entirely different sphere, though less tangible and therefore more difficult to demonstrate, is to my mind nevertheless probable: I mean the incorporation into the epic of large masses of didactic material, concentrated chiefly in the *Santi* and *Anusasana*, especially so far as it concerns the *Dharma* and *Niti* elements. Though the philosophy of the *Mahabharata* is oftentime rather shaky, being in places abstruse and confused and though the religious beliefs which find expression there are perplexingly eclectic, oscillating between Vaisnavism and Saivism, between henotheism and pantheism, there can be no two opinions about the fact that the *Mahabharata* offers a very sound and complete exposition of *Dharma* and *Niti* according to Indian theorists, a feature which has given this venerable old monument of Indian antiquity its rank as *Smriti* and its abiding value and interest to the Hindus, nay, to all true children of Mother India.

Now it happens that *Dharma* and *Niti* are just the two topics in which the Bhrigus had specialized and with which their names are prominently associated. The connection of the Bhargava Sukra with *Nīti*, which is proverbial in the *Mahabharata*, is so patent that it does not need to be especially pointed out. The connection of the Bhrigus with the *Dharmasastra* is perhaps not so well known, but is nevertheless equally certain. One has only to recall that according to a tradition preserved in the work itself, our *Manusmriti*, the most famous and popular of ancient Indian works bearing on the *Dharmasastra*, is the ancient Code of Manu in the form in which it was communicated to mankind by Bhrigu and is therefore even commonly known as the *Bhrigusamhita*, an explanation which I see not the slightest reason to question or doubt. It is also recognized that there is intimate connection between the *Mahabharata* and the *Manusmriti*.

Our remodelled *Bharata*, now elevated to the rank of the Fifth Veda, must have remained for some time in the exclusive possession of the Bhargavas as their close literary preserve. That would, in my opinion, account for the apparent homogeneous character of the heterogeneous mass: it all came from different hands, but out of the same mould.

If the above considerations have any validity, they might help us to lift up a corner of the thick veil enveloping our Great Epic and allow us to have a covert peep into its history. Such a peep would show that there existed in India, in very ancient times an epic poem of about 24,000 stanzas, attributed to Vyasa (the " expander "), which described in great detail the Bharata War and sang the glory of the Pandavas. This heroic poem, the *Bharata*, which used to be recited by the *Sutas* mostly at royal courts and had in course of time become very popular, was at a critical stage of its history appropriated by the Bhrigus (who had certainly specialized in the *Dharma* and *Nitisastra* and probably also developed leanings towards Vishnuism), with the idea of developing the epic into a vehicle of popular instruction and edification combined with entertainment. These anchorites, full of age-old wisdom and wonderful masters of the art of myth-weaving, took from the *Sutas* the *Bharata* and gave back to the world the *Mahabharata*, the same book yet different. In the process of the redaction by the Bhrigus, the work, naturally and to an extent unconsciously, received that characteristic and indelible stamp which was predetermined by the eventful history, the natural proclivities, the special endowments, and the peculiar *Weltanschauung* of the Bhrigus. This little episode in its history necessarily gave our poem the anomalous character of an Epos and *Rechtsbuch* combined. It may be surmised that this remodelled *Bharata* remained for some considerable time in the hands of the Bhargavas, who had developed it and, so to say, re-created it as their exclusive literary property, and they exploited it thereafter and propagated it in their own way. The colossal success of this Bhargava recension of the ancient Epic of the Bharatas, a success which in one sense was richly deserved, was the indirect cause of the neglect and subsequent disappearance of the original heroic poem, which must have still existed at the time of the composition of the *Asvalayana Grihya Sutra.* Like other branches of the hieratic literature, when the epic at last passed out of the hands of the Bhrigus and became the common property of the *literati* of India, it still remained a fluid text not entirely closed to minor alteration and expansion, but retained its character as a traditional work, revered and cherished by the people as the work of Maharsi Vyasa and serving still as a vehicle of popular education, inspiration, and edification as intended by the Bhrigus.—V. S. Sukthankar, in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (Poona, October, 1936).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN GERMANY

At a recent public meeting of the Bengali Society of German Culture which had Swami Sharvananda, President of the Ramakrishna Ashrama at New Delhi and Karachi, as Chairman, five distinguished Swamis of the Ramakrishna Mission read the five papers of German scholars which had been presented to the International Parliament of Religions convened in Calcutta last March under the auspices of the Ramakrishna Centenary Committee.

Swami Ghanananda of the Ceylon and Madras Centres read the paper by Prof. Thurnwald of Berlin. Thurnwald is a leading anthropologist and his paper is entitled "The Drama of Mankind in its Religious Aspect." He is convinced that man is in the grip of an "inscrutable power" and offers a strong criticism of ego-centricity.

President Zahn of the Statistical Bureau of Bavaria sent a paper on the "Human Factor in the Formation of Capital." This was read by Swami Nityaswarupananda, Secretary of the Ramakrishna Institute of Culture, which has been planned by the Ramakrishna Centenary Committee as one of the diverse items of the programme of celebrations. According to Zahn the most important productive factor of an economic unit is the people itself with its capabilities for living and work.

Swami Adyananda who has come back from South and East Africa and who was in charge of the Famine-Relief Campaign in Bengal last year read the paper on "Inward Veracity in its Religious Sense" by Baron von Brockdorff, Professor of Metaphysics and Ethics in the University of Kiel (North Germany). Brockdorff's paper shows acquaintance with the teachings of Ramakrishna and other Indian literature. According to Brockdorff man's views and notions about truth mature but slowly.

He believes that the love of truth of an almost religious fervour can be engendered by participation in scientific research.

The paper of Prof. von Wiese dealt with the " Idea of Religion," and it was read by Swami Vireswarananda of Malabar and South India, who has for some time been the President of the Advaita Ashrama, the oldest institution of the Ramakrishna Order. Prof. von Wiese is the sociologist of Cologne. In his analysis social service by itself can never engender the sublime power of divinity. The need for metaphysical religion is therefore great.

Swami Pavitrananda, who was editor of *Prabuddha Bharata* (Awakened India) at Mayavati (Himalayas) for three years read the paper of Count Keyserling of Dramstadt near Frankfurt on the Main. In this paper entitled "The Cross and the Eagle" Keyserling establishes an antithesis between the spirit of Christ as represented by the Cross and that of the Roman Empire (antique paganism) as represented by the Eagle. In his judgment the Eagle-man rejects the subjective and all that is spiritual whereas the Cross-man voluntarily accepts suffering for himself.

In his concluding address Swami Sharvananda said in part as follows:—" We are struck by the presence of one common feature among all these thinkers, however varied by their scientific and professional experiences. They are all serious and sincere. Germany is tremendously successful in material life, industry, technology, business and politics. And yet all these thinkers,— anthropologists, metaphysicians, sociologists, and statisticians,—are profoundly agitated by the questions of a deeper and higher life. The tragedy of war, the sinister aspects of worldly prosperity hang heavy over all of them. And each one of them is trying to discover the way out of these calamities and disasters. It seems almost as if these philosophers of contemporary Germany are attempting each in his own way to solve the problems of life along the same paths as were trodden by the thinkers of the *Upanishads* and the *Rishis* of the *Rig Veda*, Matter alone is not satisfying their souls. They are hungry for the things of the spirit."

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF NEW EPOCHS IN WORLD-CULTURE

In material culture, arts and sciences as well as religious inspiration the rise of the Bengalis in recent times is, like that of the Japanese, but another testimony to the possibilities of world-progress being accomplished by races or peoples which are comparatively young and traditionless. In regard to the Bengalis as to the Japanese it is worth observing that their achievements in the past were not characterized by palpable creative influences on the life and thought of their neighbouring races or peoples. From the Mahenjo Daro epochs (*c.* 3500 B.C.) down to the beginnings of the nineteenth century it was the rôle of the Bengali people mainly but to assimilate the creations of the non-Bengali races and peoples. The instances of the Bengali people as having left the solid mark of their own creations on the culture of Northern, Western and Southern India, as well as of "Greater India," *i.e.*, in areas uninhabited by the Bengalis, during six thousand years were very few and far between. Emperor-Dharmapala (*c.* 800 A.C.) with his exploits at Kanauj, Atisa, the scholar-saint of Tibetan fame (*c.* 1100), and Chaitanya (*c.* 1530), the apostle of Vaishnava faith, with influences in Assam and Orissa may perhaps be considered to be some of the Bengali creative forces such as happened to possess extra-Bengal dominion of one form or other.

In the nineteenth century, then, the Bengalis were at bottom one of the youngest races of India. The Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement (1836-1902) represents a very significant landmark in Indian culture, in as much as it started the Bengali people virtually for the first time on to what may be regarded as a career of *charaiveti* (march on) and world-conquests. A Bengali period of culture-history was thus seen to be in the making. It is in the *Swadeshi* movement of 1905 that the new social forces engendered by the Bengali prople got recognized as a power among the powers of the world of culture. An interesting chronological coincidence,—but which points to the same sociological agencies as the birth of Young Bengal—is the simultaneous recognition of Japan as a world-power in the political and military fields. For the qualitative and racial investigations into population questions the students of demography and eugenics will then discover in the emergence of the "unhistoric," "traditionless" and "unknown" Japanese and Bengali peoples, as associated with the "ideas of 1905," [1] profound "world-disturbers" such as are calculated to unsettle the settled dogmas and pioneer more fruitful doctrines in the problems of human progress and race-betterment. Present-day Bengal, like modern Japan, furnishes us with the sociological data bearing on new epochs or the beginnings of fresh epochs in world-culture.

The beginnings of new epochs such as can be seen in the Japan and Bengal of "our own times" are but paralleled by such phenomena in the socio-cultural conditions of the German people during the period (1744-1835), say, from Herder to Humboldt. It was then that for the first time German culture, still relatively "young" and "unknown" as it was, commenced its career of "world-conquests." The sociology of such beginnings deserves intensive research from demographists as well as eugenists with a view to throwing more light on the problem of progress.

New epochs have very often been started by "races or classes" which from the platform of the dominant races or classes,—*i.e.*, the *élites* of the age,—were declared in so many words to be "inferior," worthless, semi-civilized, "cacogenic" or "dysgenic," "unfit" or incompetent. It is in such beginnings of new epochs in world-culture among the alleged "inferior" rac or classes of the day that we find objectively and historically disproved the chauvinistic contention of Lapouge in his paper on *La Race chez les populations melangées* presented at the second International Congress of Eugenics (New York, 1921). In his judgment *les blancs* (the whites) and *les riches* (the rich) were pronounced to be identical with *les elements intellectuellement superieurs* (the intellectually superior elements) and their work with *la civilisation elle-même* (civilization itself).

It is time for the sciences of population and sociology to get emancipated from the unthinking proneness to establishing such equations between cacogenic (or dysgenic) factors and the "untried" (or "unhistorical") races on the one hand and the poorer and "lower" classes on the other. The scare propagated by Lapouge, Leonard Darwin and other eugenists to the effect that the age of the rise of the "races" that are known to be "inferior" and of the poorer "classes" is tantamount to the epoch of *la barbarie des contemporaines du mammouth* (the barbarism of the contemporaries of the mammoth) or that "the nation as a whole is slowly and steadily deteriorating as regards its average inborn qualities" ought to have no place in positive or speculative science. For neither, the poor nor the young (or the unknown) can be postulated to be dysgenic. Eugenic "fitnesses" or good stocks and strains are "widely distributed" among the diverse races and classes. The possibilities of progress may then be taken to be assured for mankind.[1]

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[1] The present author's *Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin 1922), E. Spranger: "Das Wesen der deutschen Universitaet" in *Das akademiscke Deutschland* (Berlin 1930), Vol. III; Wilhelm von Humboldt" in *Research and Progress* (Berlin), July, 1935.

See also P. Ponce: "Eugenics and Islam" A. B. Wolfe: "Eugenics and Social Attitudes," L. I. Dublin: "The Higher Education of Women and Race Betterment" in *Eugenics in Race and State*, Vol. II (Baltimore 1923), being the Scientific Papers of the Second International Congress of Eugenics (New York 1921).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

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[1] For two conflicting views see A. Loria: *The Psychophysical Elite and the Economic Elite*, a paper for the First International Eugenics Congress, London, 1912, aad L. Darwin: *The Need for Eugenic Reform* (London 1926). pp. 318, 327 (Is the race deteriorating?) See also the present author's *Science of History and the Hope of Mankind* (Londoa 1912),

Reviews and Notices of Books

Indian Economics—In N. G. Apte's *Rural Reconstruction* (Rajaguru & Co., Poona, 1936, 100 pages, Re. 1-8-0) the reader is not introduced to theories of economic planning or schemes of planned economy. The author is a practical man and is interested in the business of rural products. His description of the village industries of Maharastra, as well as chapters on utilization of fruits, experiments with fruit juices, etc., are calculated not only to open up the Bombay Deccan to the students of Indian economics but also to indicate some of the avenues to money-making such as may be profitably taken up. The list of industries suggested by the author comprises the preparations of dried mango juice, dried jack fruit, export of mangoes, *khas* tatties, preparations of rice products such as *pohas*, etc.

One of the publications of the Research Department of St. John's College, Agra, is *Agricultural Marketing in Agra District* (Calcutta, 1936, pages 85), by Prof. H. L. Puxley. The marketing organization is described in three stages, (1) from the fields to the village-dealer, (2) from the village to the city market and (3) in the city *mandi*. The description of the marketing chain is supplemented by an account of storage methods. The author's suggestion that small sellers in the villages should combine in their dealings with buyers is not ambitious but practical and valuable.

A work that by the side of the previous two is theoretical with a vengeance, albeit based in the main on the study of sugar industry, is B. N. Adarkar's *Indian Tariff Policy* (Bombay, 1936, 170 pages). The author examines the claims of protection as a cure for unemployment and an aid to industrialization. A passage reads as follows: "I must add that in deprecating tariffs as a means of increasing employment, I do not imply that a country may have no use for tariff in abnormal circumstances." But altogether, "tariffs should be universally condemned" (pp. 44-45).

According to the author "the substantial amounts of revenue which Government has sacrificed as a result of its protectionist policy (*re* sugar) could have been conveniently and with much better results devoted to the task of enhancing the efficiency of agricultural production and marketing by research, propaganda and provision of credit" (p. 57). The other side of protection has been forcefully presented in this work which seeks really to invite careful attention to non-protective measures as aids to the economic development of a country.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

Economics and Social Philosophy—In the collected papers of Prof. F. H. Knight published as the *Ethics of Competition and other Essays* (London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1935, pages 362, 12 *s.* 6 *d.*) it is not impossible to detect a fundamental thesis. The central problem of economic theory, says Knight in the chapter on "Economic Psychology and the Value Problem," is that of "evaluating competitive individualism as a system of social organization." This system is to be appraised by comparison with a "system based upon conscious, intelligent co-operation and on moral motives in place of the mechanical interaction of self-seeking activities" (p. 102). The attitude is in the main that of the social philosopher and the moralist. But in the chapter on "Value and Price" the economist is in evidence in so far as the author comes out with the proposition that price and pricing constitute one of the central topics of economics (p. 237). The essay on Interest is historical as well as analytical and deserves to be widely known as a contribution to economic thought. By far the largest chapter is that entitled "Economic Theory and Nationalism" and here we come into contact with Knight's political philosophy as besed on economic theory and sociology.

Contemporary economics of the orthodox school is classified in Professor H. W. Peck's *Economic Thought and its Institutional Background* (London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1935, 380 pages, 12 *s*. 6 *d*.) as belonging to three isms : (1) marginism, (2) pecuniarism and (3) newer capitalism. The marginists are speculative men who have had training in mathematics or physics. The theorists who approach industry from the financial point of view are described as following "pecuniary logic." And newer capitalism consists in applying the view-point of engineering and technology to economic problems (p. 188).

The reactions to the orthodox school in contemporary economic thought are grouped by the author as follows: (1) historical economics (2) welfare economics, (3) institutional economics and (4) collective economics. The work is characterized by a philosophical and sociological outlook. In the author's *Weltanschauung* historic economic theories are rationalizations of industrial secular trends. In his analysis all the schools of economic thought are to be justified as interpretations of the times and as contributions to a permanently valuable body of economic generalizations. Those who are well acquainted with the interpretations of Gide-Rist and Spann will appreciate the new orientations offered by Peck.

Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

Adolph Hitler or the Triumph of Power—By Dr. H. Beythan (Desiya-Vidya-Sangam, Madras).

The book is not a life-study of Herr Hitler, as one would have expected it to be from its title. It gives us some glimpses of Hitler's early life, but deals more, within a short compass, with the after-war conditions in Germany and the economic and political crises which she had to pass through after the great war. How Herr Hitler set himself to the task of bringing order out of chaos by successfully tackling the unemployment problem and improving the condition of the agriculturists and workers, and how he succeeded in raising the national self-respect of the German people which was at a low ebb after the war are set out at some length. The author's anti-Semitic bias, however, is rather apparent. Nevertheless, the book will give a good idea of the situation in Germany, and as a sketch of the personality and achievement of the Fuehrer and as a German nationalistic *exposé* of the recent political and other events in Germany, it should be widely read by those Tamilians who wish to be *au courant* with the epoch-making happenings in Europe, of far-reaching consequences.

The work is written in good and simple Tamil, which is eminently readable, with a few choice quotations from the *Tiruk-kural* forming a distinct embellishment of its style. Dr. Beythan for a European writes good Tamil, and he has done his work well. The book is beautifully printed and beautifully got up, with a number of finely produced illustrations. We do not have many books on the affairs of foreign countries in Tamil, and as such the book is a welcome addition to the literature of Tamil on current topics.

M. Isvaran.

Bernard Bosanquet and His Friends. Letters Edited by J. H. Muir-Head, LL.D. F.B.A., London. : George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 12*s*. 6*d*. net.

The book under review is a record of the development of the philosophical theories of Bernard Bosanquet in relation to those of his Friends. It makes highly interesting reading.

The letters are arranged according to a plan that gives unity to the book. There are some sections in each of which a theme is worked out. For instance, in the first section the letters show the philosopher as a logician, and that with reference to his acquaintances, friends and pupils in Oxford and London.

Bosanquet's letters have once again brought before us the distinction between class-room philosophers and those with whom philosophy is their life-blood. They will, I am sure, by the wealth of their contents, quicken the sense of Reality in those who are still groping in their search after it.

Their are two portraits—one of Mr. Bosanquet and the other of Mrs. Bosanquet ; these are very welcome to the readers, especially to his ardent admires who are scattered all over the world, inasmuch as seeing one in picture is very much near to seeing one in one's person.

We are very grateful to Dr. Muirhead for affording us a splendid opportunity through this publication to go beyond the merely philosophical theories of Bosanquet and to get into touch with some aspects of his inner life out of which he made a career of a genuine philosopher.

Paper, printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired.

A. C. DAS.

Ourselves

[I. Fellowship of Mr. Satishchandra Ghosh.—II. Mr. D. K. Sanyal.—III. Exemption to Schools.—IV. Prof. P. N. Ghosh re-nominated a Fellow.—V. Secretary, Post-Graduate Department.—VI. Government Grant for Non-Government Colleges.—VII. Research Studentship in Chemistry.—VIII. A New Ph.D.—IX. A New D.Sc.—X. New Secretary of the Inter-University Board.—XI. Durga Charan Ghosh Medal.—XII. New Affiliation for Ripon College.—XIII. Viharilal Mitra Fellowship.—XIV. University and Cambridge School Certificate Examinations.—XV. Army Classes in Universities and Colleges.—XVI. Warren Research Fellowship in Metallurgy, Engineering, Physics and Chemistry.—XVII. Hostel for Girls in Calcutta.—XVIII. Obituary Notice].

I. FELLOWSHIP OF MR. SATISCHANDRA GHOSH.

The Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Department of Education has forwarded to this University a copy of Notification, dated the 6th April, 1937, in which it is announced that His Excellency the Chancellor is pleased to approve of the election of the undermentioned gentlemen by the Registered Graduates as Ordinary Fellows of this University:—

Mr. Satischandra Ghosh, M.A.
Mr. Sasikanta Chakrabarti, B.E. (Cal.), M.I.P. (Lond.), M.I.E. (Ind.).

It will be recalled that the result of the election was declared as far back as January last. The last term of Fellowship of Mr. Ghosh expired on the 2nd March 1937. According to the Notification the Fellowship of Mr. Ghosh will have to be considered to date from the 6th April 1937. The delay in receiving Government orders has unfortunately caused a break in the Fellowship of Mr. Ghosh, who has been serving this University as a Member of the Senate for an unbroken period of ten years. It is a pity that there should have been such a delay on the part of Government in notifying His Excellency's approval to the University and the public.

* * *

II. MR. D. K. SANYAL.

We are glad to announce that the Syndicate have appointed Mr. Dwijendra Kumar Sanyal, M.A., Secretary to the proposed

Appointments Board for a period of two years for the present on a salary of Rs. 500 per month.

The selection of Mr. Sanyal will give universal satisfaction. A year before he obtained his Master's Degree in Commerce with a First Class in 1930 standing First in the list, Mr. Sanyal was sent by this University to the firm of Messrs. Martin & Co. for a course of training in its various departments for about a year. He was awarded a Post-Graduate Research Scholarship in 1932 and was subsequently appointed Lecturer in the Post-Graduate and Undergraduate departments. Since 1933 he has been working as Secretary to the Indian Mining Federation, in which capacity he appeared before the Tariff Boards, the Railway Enquiry Committee and other Committees appointed by Government. He has also distinguished himself as a contributor to financial journals and dailies.

* * *

III. EXEMPTION TO SCHOOLS.

On the recommendation of the Director of Public Instruction, Assam, this University has, until further orders, granted exemption to forty-seven High Schools of Assam from the operation of the rule relating to the medium of instruction under the new Matriculation regulations until text-books in Assamese are available for the upper classes.

The Syndicate have granted similar exemption to the Hare School, Calcutta. The objection was first raised by the Head Master of Hare School on the ground that there were in general Bengali, Hindi and Urdu speaking boys in the School. Besides, boys whose Vernacular is Nepali, Guzrati or Assamese were admitted from time to time in the school. As the only vernacular through which it was possible to impart instruction was Bengali, those whose vernaculars were other than Bengali would not be able to receive instruction. This, the Head Master pointed out, led to no other alternative than to impart instruction through the medium of English.

Dealing with the subject the Director of Public Instruction has pointed out that there are five Government High Schools for boys and two Government High Schools for girls in Calcutta. In their considered opinion the medium of instruction and examination in the Hare School and the Anglo-Persian Department of the Calcutta

Madrassah should be English and that in the Hindu School, Sanskrit Collegiate School and the Ballygunj Government High School should be Bengali. The Bethune Collegiate School should use Bengali and the Sakhawat Memorial High School, English, as the medium of instruction and examination of their candidates. This conclusion, says the Director of Public Instruction, has been arrived at in consideration of the conditions obtaining in those institutions and the resources available for this purpose.

Ultimately, however, as the Director of Public Instruction is of opinion, it may be possible to open parallel sections for instruction and examination through Bengali and Urdu for boys of the Calcutta Madrassah and girls of the Sakhawat Memorial School, but this question may be considered at a later date.

The following schools have also been granted exemption from the operation of the rule until further orders:—

St. James' School, Calcutta, St. Vincent de Paul's School, Asansol, Loreto Day School, Calcutta, St. Paul's Mission School (Higher Grade) Calcutta, Calcutta Boys' School, St. Lawrence High School, Calcutta, St. Joseph's Collegiate School, Calcutta, St. Thomas' School, Calcutta, St. Placid's School, Chittagong, St. Andrew's Colonial Homes, Kalimpong, St. John's Diocesan Girls' High School, Calcutta, St. Robert's H. E. School, Darjeeling, St. Anthony's High School, Calcutta, St. Xavier's College School, Calcutta, Scottish Universities' Mission Inst., Kalimpong, Kalimpong Girls' High School.

* * *

IV. PROF. P. N. GHOSH RE-NOMINATED A FELLOW.

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to re-nominate Professor Phanindranath Ghosh, M.A., PH.D., SC.D., F.INST.P., as an Ordinary Fellow of this University. The Fellow has been attached to the Faculties of Arts and Science and appointed a member of the Boards of Studies and Committees of which he is at present a member.

* * *

V. SECRETARY, POST-GRADUATE DEPARTMENT.

Mr. Sailendranath Mitra, M.A., who was for about two years officiating as Secretary to the Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in

Arts and Science, has been made permanent in the post with effect from 1st April, 1937.

* * *

VI. GOVERNMENT GRANT FOR NON-GOVERNMENT COLLEGES.

We are informed that a sum of rupees forty-five thousand has been provided in the Government Budget for the current year for distribution through this University among non-Government colleges during 1937-38. The Heads of affiliated non-Government colleges in Bengal have been informed accordingly and applications are being invited from them for participation in the grant.

* * *

VII. RESEARCH STUDENTSHIP IN CHEMISTRY.

The authorities of the Burma Oil Co., Ltd., are to be thanked for their proposal of awarding a studentship to a research student of the Chemistry Department of the University College of Science for carrying on investigations in their oil-fields at Digboi, Assam. The Company, we understand, is willing to arrange with this University for payment of Rs. 100 per month to the student for one year in the first instance with every probability of renewal for a further period and that in the case of any vacancy in the staff of chemists on the fields, the student will have a strong claim to the appointment provided he sticks to his work during the period.

* * *

VIII. A NEW PH.D.

We congratulate Mr. Birendranath Gangopadhyay, M.A., on his being admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of this University on a thesis entitled "Trends of Agriculture and Population in the Ganges Valley." The thesis was adjudicated upon by a Board of Examiners consisting of Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, K.B.E., Professor Harold Mann, D.SC., F.I.C., F.L.S., and Mr. C. S. Orwin, M.A.

* * *

IX. A NEW D.Sc.

We congratulate Mr. Nripendranath Chattopadhyay, M.SC., on his being admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science of this University on a thesis entitled " Synthesis of Phenanthrone and its Derivatives, Spiro-compounds, and Synthesis of Different Types of Ring Systems related to Natural Products," and subsidiary papers on "Studies in the Anthroquinone Series." The Board of Examiners which adjudicated on the thesis consisted of Sir G. T. Morgan, O.B.E., D.SC., F.R.S., Professor Jocelyn Thorpe, C.B.E., D.SC., F.R.S., and Professor Richard Willstatter, N.L.

Dr. Chattopadhyay has stood the test with great credit not only to himself but also to this University, of which he is a brilliant student. We heartily congratulate him on the hard-earned distinction.

* * *

X. NEW SECRETARY OF THE INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD.

We are informed that Prof. N. K. Siddhanta, M.A. (Cantab.), of the Lucknow University has been appointed Secretary to the Inter-University Board for a period of three years from the 1st April 1937, in place Prof. A. R. Wadia, B.A. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law. The office of the Board will now shift to Lucknow.

* * *

XI. DURGACHARAN GHOSH MEDAL.

We understand Mr. Nisanath Ghosh, Asst. Surgeon, B. W. Medical School, Dibrugarh, intends to place at the disposal of this University a sum of Rs. 500 in cash for creating an endowment for the annual award of a silver medal in memory of his son the late Durgacharan Ghosh, who was a student of Dibrugarh Government High School.

The award is to be made to the student who will stand first among the successful Matriculation students appearing from schools within the town of Dibrugarh. Students of both sexes and all communities, castes and religions will be eligible for the medal.

* * *

XII. NEW AFFILIATION FOR RIPON COLLEGE.

The Ripon College, Calcutta, will, from the commencement of the session 1937-38, be affiliated to this University in History to the B.A. Honours standard.

* * *

XIII. VIHARILAL MITRA FELLOWSHIP.

The Viharilal Mitra Fellowship has been awarded to Miss Jyotiprava Dasgupta, M.A., B.T., DIP. in ED. (Lond.), for a period of six months in the first instance, to study conditions and problems of women education in India.

* * *

XIV. THE UNIVERSITY AND CAMBRIDGE SCHOOL CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS.

The following revised orders of the Syndicate regarding recognition by this University of the Cambridge School Certificate Examination and the Cambridge Higher School Certificate Examination have been approved and will be forwarded to heads of colleges affiliated to this University in Arts and Science. These rules will be given effect to from the commencement of the session 1937-38.

1. A student, who has passed the Cambridge School Certificate Examination and has obtained either a Grade I Certificate or a Grade II Certificate with at least four credits, will be regarded as having passed an examination equivalent to the Matriculation Examination of this University.

2. A student, who after having passed the Matriculation Examination of this University or any other examination recognised as equivalent to the Matriculation Examination of this University, prosecutes a further course of study recognised as satisfactory by the University and passes the Cambridge Higher School Certificate Examination, will be regarded as having passed the Intermediate Examination in Arts and Science of this University for the purpose of admission to the courses and examinations of this University.

3. Students, appearing at the Cambridge School Certificate Examination in December, may be allowed pending publication

of their results at the examination, to join the 1st-year I.A. or I.Sc. Classes in colleges affiliated to this University, provisionally, in the month of January following and to appear at the Intermediate Examination, after a regular course of study for a year and a half as non-collegiate students, provided they are sent up for the examination by the authorities of the colleges to which they belong and satisfy the other usual requirements of the University, it being distinctly understood that their provisional admission into colleges will be cancelled if they fail to pass the Cambridge School Certificate Examination or fail to obtain a pass certificate in either Grade I or Grade II with at least four credits.

In the case of colleges in Darjeeling, such students may join a college not later than the 15th of March following.

4. Students appearing at the Cambridge Higher Certificate Examination in July, may be allowed, pending publication of their results at the Examination to join provisionally the 3rd-year B.A. or B.Sc. Class in Colleges affiliated to this University, in the month of August following and to appear at the University Examination as regular students, provided they are sent up for the Examination by the authorities of the colleges to which they belong and satisfy the other usual requirements of the University, it being distinctly understood that their provisional admission into colleges will be cancelled if they fail to pass the Cambridge Higher Certificate Examination.

5. Every case of the nature described above should be reported, before admission into the college, to the University with the requisite fees and documents for consideration and necessary orders.

N.B.—(1) Students joining this University after passing the Cambridge Certificate Examination, will be required to pay the usual migration fee of Rs. 15. If they join an affiliated college after the expiry of the last date of admission they will be required to pay, in addition, the usual late admission fee of Rs. 4.

(2) A student who, after appearing at the Cambridge School Certificate Examination in any year, fails to join an affiliated college in the month of January immediately following his examination as provided for in Rule 3 above will be required to prosecute a regular course of study in an affiliated college for the full period of two years from the commencement of an academic session.

(3) A student who, after appearing at the Cambridge Higher Certificate Examination in any year, fails to join an affiliated college

in the month of August immediately following his examination as provided for in Rule 4 above, will be required to prosecute a regular course of study in an affiliated college for the full period of two years from the commencement of an academic session.

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XV. ARMY CLASSES IN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES.

The following information has been transmitted to this University by the Government for necessary action. The matter has, we understand, been referred to the University Training Corps Committee :—

"*Information regarding the Army Class organised by the Government College, Lahore.*

Students at the Government College are admitted to the 'Army Class' by a Selection Committee consisting of the Principal, the Army Tutor and the Senior University Training Corps member of the staff.

All applicants are interviewed and selected on a basis of suitable age and physique, suitability for army career, and their willingness to concentrate on work for the Indian Military Academy Examination.

The 'Army Class' was inaugurated in 1932 and is normally 16 to 18 in number. 90 have attended the "Army Class" since its inauguration, of whom 34 have been successful in gaining admittance to the Indian Military Academy (10 cadets who have been educated at the Government College, have been admitted to the Indian Military Academy as Indian Army cadets).

In addition to routine work for the Indian Military Academy entrance examination special tuition is given in English, general knowledge and geography, mathematics and physical science.

In the opinion of the Principal, the difficulties of science students attending practical classes are overstated, and the opportunity to attend University Training Corps parades can be made by internal re-adjustment.

The Principal will invite Army Officers to address the boys on the Army as a career, and special-visits are made to places of military interest.

Special tuition is given by a European Professor, M.A. (Oxon.), and a B.A. (Hons.) of London University.

All members of the 'Army Class' belong to the University Training Corps.

No extra fees are charged.

All students attempt to gain their B.A. Degree as early as possible, as this is necessary for open competitive examinations such as the I.C.S., P.C.S., Indian Police, Audit and Accounts.

The Principal estimates that a man of ordinary ability obtains his B.A. Degree between the ages of 18½ to 20 years.

It is true that work in the 'Army Clsas' does not materially help a student to obtain his B.A. Degree, but students should make up their minds to concentrate on the one subject. The Principal is endeavouring to make this clear and to help students as much as possible."

* * *

XVI. WARREN RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP IN METALLURGY, ENGINEERING, PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY.

We have been requested to publish the following:—

"The Warren Research Fund Committee of the Royal Society propose to make two appointments to Warren Research Fellowships in Metallurgy, Engineering, Physics or Chemistry, under the terms of the following clause in the Trust Deed:—

"The income of the Warren Research Fund shall be applied from time to time for all or any of the following purposes so far as legally charitable that is to say, (*i*) the premotion carrying on or assistance of scientific research in metallurgy engineering physics and chemistry or any of those subjects including in such assistance the provision of any equipment buildings facilities or financial or other aid which may be thought proper and (*ii*) the use or application of such research or its results in or for industry and industrial development."

The Fellowships will be of the value of £700 per annum, and will be open to males who are British subjects.

An applicant for a Fellowship should state his age and qualifications and the nature of the research in which he proposes to engage, together with the place or places at which it will be carried out, and exact particulars of any other stipend, grant or endowment which he holds or is likely to hold. Each Warren Research Fellow shall devote his time and attention primarily to the research or work for which he is appointed, and shall not undertake any paid work or hold any paid office (apart from his Fellowship) without the written permission of the Committee but the Committee shall in general consider favourably a request by a Fellow for permission to give a course of lectures or to participate in teaching work. Each application should be accompanied by the names of two persons willing to act as referees. Applicants from distant parts of the Empire should by preference nominate referees resident in Britain but, if this is not practicable, may request other persons willing to act as referees to write directly and in confidence to the Secretary of the Royal Society. Open testimonials are not desired and will not be considered.

The appointments will date from October 1, 1937, or as soon thereafter as practicable, and the Fellows appointed will be required to come under the Royal Society Superannuation Scheme.

The Fellowships are tenable in the first instance until September 30, 1941, with the possibility of re-appointment for a further three years.

Application should be made on forms to be obtained from the Assistant Secretary of the Royal Society, Burlington House, London, W. I., and should be received at the offices of the Royal Society not later than July 1, 1937."

* * *

XVII. Hostel for Girls in Calcutta

Negotiations are in progress between the Government of Bengal and this University to give a concrete shape to the proposal of building a suitable hostel in Calcutta for under-graduate and post-graduate girl students of the University.

According to the present scheme, which is likely to cost a total sum of more than five lakhs of rupees, the University is willing to purchase a plot of land measuring eight bighas in Lower Circular Road provided the scheme is approved by the Government. The land is considered suitable as it is centrally situated and is at the same time not within the congested area.

The estimated cost of construction of the proposed plot will amount to Rs. 2,00,000. The cost of construction of a suitable hostel building with other necessary accommodation and furniture and fitting will amount to Rs. 3,56,500 approximately. Out of the total amount to be required for the scheme the University authorities have already sanctioned a sum of one lakh of rupees from the Veharilal Mitra Endowment Fund. If, however, it is found difficult by the Government to sanction the entire amount from the State coffer, the University expect that the Government will come to their help by sanctioning at least half of the total amount.

At present there is no special hostel for girl students maintained by the University. In view of the rapid increase in the number of girl students in the different colleges of the city and in the post-graduate classes, the University considers that a satisfactory solution of the problem of their residence is an urgent necessity and hopes that the Government will see their way to sanction a suitable grant for the purpose. The University is in communication with the Land Acquisition Collector on the subject of land and if any other plot, besides the one which has been suggested by the University, is available and if it is approved by the University, their decision will be, in due course, forwarded to the Government.

It is pointed out in this connection that the Veharilal Mitra Endowment Fund is meant for Hindu girl students and as the proposed scheme will be partially financed by the Fund the University considers that it should be possible to set apart a portion of the land for constructing a separate block of rooms for girl students belonging to other communities who may seek admission to the Hostel.

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XVIII. OBITUARY NOTICE.

SYAMADAS MUKERJI, M.A., PH.D.

(1865-1937)

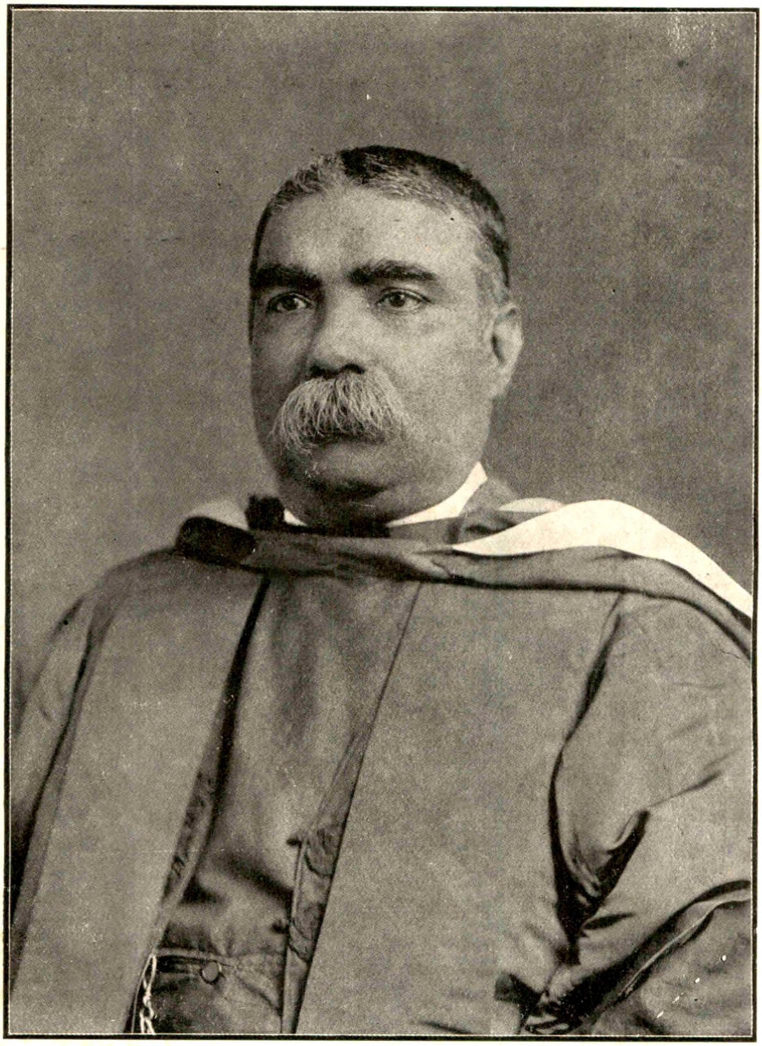
Dr. Syamadas Mukerji has passed away in ripe old age. He was 72 years old last Saturday (8th May), the night of his death ; but none the less he might have continued another decade as an active intellectual worker. Age was merely an arithmetical affair for him ; his mental vigour abated no whit inspite of the completion of the biblical term of human life.

Dr. Syamadas was one of the first band of lecturers who were called to join the mathematical section of the Post-Graduate Department of the University, at its inception, by the great Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. As a teacher and researcher he was, so to say, *sui generis* ; his method was his own, his manner his own. Perhaps it is news to many that at one time his teaching activity was not limited to mathematics alone; when in Government service, he lectured on English Poetry to the lady students of Bethune College. Not purely of "imagination compact" he had a fair share of creative imagination and his innate artistic tendency explains the intuitive cast of his mathematical work. The special branch of mathematics that attracted his early notice was Geometry, which is a department of mathematical science where intuition plays an equal part with logic. When a young graduate fresh from the University, he solved a geometrical problem that has been recorded in Mccleland's geometry of the circle. Before retiring from the University he developed a new method of intuitional geometry and published a series of papers on the General Geometry of Higher Space. These papers have been received by the geometers all over the world as being unique in the domain of what the Germans call anschauliche Geometrie (intuitive geometry). Klein, Hilbert, Engel, Hadamard, Levi-civita and Blaschke have from time to time been attracted to this domain to be reached by a new path left for the genius of Dr. Syamadas to discover. The papers on non-Euclidean geometry of hyper-space have been declared by competent authorities to be artistically perfect. Rigour and simplicity characterises Dr. Syamadas's method which is more effective for the solution of intricate problems than the non-intuitive, involved analytical processes. The problem of cyclic and sextactic points on an oval has been solved without the aid of the most powerful instrument of modern analysis generally employed by the continental workers who have tackled the same problem with any success.

After retirement he did not cease to take active interest in things mathematical. As President of the Calcutta Mathematical Society he presided over the deliberations of the society and helped it with many a practical suggestion for the enlargement of its sphere of activity. Besides mathematics, photography and floriculture had great attractions for him.

He has passed away full of years and honours having given of his best to his *alma mater* and his country.

S. C. B.



SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

Born—June 29, 1864 *Died—May 25, 1924*

MESSAGE FROM HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE VI TO THE EMPIRE ON THE OCCASION OF THE CORONATION, 12TH MAY, 1937.

IT is with a full heart that I speak to you to-night. Never before has a newly crowned King been able to speak to all his peoples in their own homes on the day of his Coronation. Never has the ceremony itself had so wide a significance, for the Dominions are now free and equal partners with this ancient kingdom, and I felt this morning that the whole Empire was in very truth gathered within the walls of Westminster Abbey. I rejoice that I can now speak to you all, greeting old friends in distant lands and new friends in those parts where it has not been my good fortune to go. In this personal way the Queen and I wish health and happiness to you all, not forgetting at this time of celebration those living under the shadow of sickness and distress, to whom I send a special message of sympathy and good cheer.

I cannot find words with which to thank you for your love and loyalty to the Queen and myself. Your goodwill in the street to-day, your countless messages from overseas and every quarter of these islands filled our hearts to overflowing. I will only say that if in the coming years I can show my gratitude in service to you, that is the way above all others I should choose. To many millions the Crown is a symbol of unity. By the grace of God and the will of the free peoples of the British Commonwealth, I assumed that Crown.

In me as your King is vested for a time the duty of maintaining its honour and integrity. This is indeed a grave and constant responsibility but it gave me confidence to see your representatives around me in the Abbey and to know that you too were enabled to join in that infinitely beautiful ceremony. Its outward forms come down from distant times but its inner meaning and message are always new, for the highest of distinctions is the service of others and to the Ministry of Kingship I have dedicated myself with the Queen at my side in words of deepest solemnity.

We will, God helping us, faithfully discharge our trust. Some of you will travel about the Commonwealth within the family circle, meeting others whose thoughts are coloured by the same memories and whose hearts unite in devotion to our common heritage. You will learn, I hope, how much our free association means and how much our friendship with each other and with all nations on earth can help the cause of peace and progress. The Queen and I will always keep in our hearts the inspiration of this day. May we ever be worthy of the goodwill which, I am proud to think, surrounds us at the outset of my reign! I thank you from my heart. May God bless you all!

THE

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CAPITAL AND WAR

Ellen Horup
Geneva.

WHAT is it that is happening in Spain ? Is it civil war, class war, or international war ? or is it all three ? Who is doing the fighting in Spain, and what are they fighting for ?

On one side there is a Spanish general with the army, the landowners and the ecclesiastics, and whoever they could get to join them. These however could not have been many. He had the army, but there were not troops enough just the same. He brought the Moroccans over from Africa, and that was not enough either. He is constantly calling for troops. He got them too, but not from Spain.

On the other side is the lawful Government of Spain. *They* are not short of men. They do not need to call for troops. More enlist than they need. It is the military that is lacking, trained soldiers who have learned to use arms, officers who know how to lead attacks without wasting human life.

Thus this appears to be a civil war, with Spaniards on both sides of the front. That is that. It is to some extent a continuation of the struggle against the Catholic Church and the Christian monarchy which the Spanish Liberals have fought since the French Revolution. Only in 1812 did the country get a constitution that abolished the Inquisition and deprived the Church of its power. But that lasted only a few months ; Ferdinand the Seventh allied himself with the Church and put an end to the constitution. The inquisition was brought in again, and the Liberals were murdered in its torture chambers. In 1820 the country revolted. The constitution was re-established, schools were built, and Ferdinand had only one desire : " to be the greatest servant of his beloved people." But while the Liberals were building schools, Ferdinand and the Church joined the Holy Alliance, and 60,000 foreign soldiers marched into Spain. On that occasion they were French. Schools and books were burnt, and the inquisition began again. That was the struggle in Spain for centuries. That is what it is to this day.

After the French Revolution Spain had 134,000 priests, 46,000 monks and 32,000 nuns. As to the wealth of the Spanish Church, the same standard may undoubtedly be applied as that with which the former Italian finance minister Nitti measured the wealth of the Vatican : " It is at any rate so great that it is incomprehensible what the Catholic Church wants with the two milliard lira it received under the Concordate with Mussolini."

The Pope's concordates with the Fascistic dictators mean that the richest institution in the country no longer allies itself with the Monarchy, which is no longer a power in the land. As ever, it sees its advantage in adhering to the strongest movement of the day, to the economic and military imperialism in its most powerful form, And that is Fascism But it is nothing else, no matter how beautifully it is dressed up.

Behind the military Fascism in Italy and Germany is the economic Fascism. And behind the non-intervention of the democratic countries stand the capitalistic interests. For never does revolution break out in any country, and never is war waged, unless capitalistic interests are involved.

We need merely take oil as an example. During the whole of this century thousands of people have been goaded into war and rebellion by the oil interests. No raw material has caused so much fighting as oil. This is partly due to the fact that inventions have made it indispensable in every country. But that matters assumed the character they did was first and foremost due to man who started the fight with an insatiable passion for money and power. Whoever has read Ida Tarbell's extensive book "*The History of the Standard Oil Co.*," will know who turned the oil industry into an oil war. It was said that Rockefeller offered her a solid sum for not publishing it.

As is evidenced by the Standard Oil's gigantic activities, there was room in the oil industry for a whole lot of concerns which, under normal development and commercial competition, would have given both ample interest on capital and reasonable prices to consumers. But from the very first John D. Rockefeller regarded the oil industry as his private property, whereby it was his right to destroy any existing or new competitor. Rockefeller demanded the monopoly, monopoly profit and monopoly power.

Whereas all the oil-industry people had agreed that the means of transportation in their country were to be accessible to all, and on equal terms, Rockefeller had hardly got in when by bribes and tricks he secured such big discounts and built up such a ramified system of espionage that he was able to beat them all. In her last chapter, Conclusions, Ida Tarbell says: "There is no gaming table in the world where loaded dice are tolerated, no athletic field where men must not start fair. Yet Mr. Rockefeller has systematically played with loaded dice, and it is doubtful if there has ever been a time since 1872 when he has run a race with a competitor and started fair."

It was only when Rockefeller got a competitor who matched him, the Dutchman Sir Henry Deterding, chief of the Royal Dutch Shell Co., that the oil war began in earnest outside the U. S. A. Deterding had realized from the first that future power in the oil industry rested on possession of the oil fields, as Rockefeller had seen it in the means of conveyance. And now, wherever there was oil, these two equally ruthless, equally ambitious men collided. And not only there. It was not the crude oil alone they fought for, but the means of conveyance, the refineries and the markets. They made the whole world their battle ground. For the entire world needs the commodity that drives the modern motor. The oil concerns became belligerent powers. But they did not have the battle to themselves.

The other belligerent powers gradually discovered that to make war they must have oil, and that to get oil they must go to war. And in 1913 Winston Churchill succeeded in making the British Admiralty principal shareholder in the Anglo-Persian Oil Co., which collaborated with Shell-Deterding. Thus the British Government became Standard Oil's competitor, which greatly increased the tension between Great Britain and the United States.

The strategical measures in the fight for oil are the same for the Great Powers as for the oil companies. And for the populations who are fortunate enough to have oil in their country, the result is also the same. Professor Delaissi describes how the two companies fought for the oil in Mexico ; " As soon as the Government took sides with one or the other party, there was a revolt. The two armies marched on Jumpico, where the oil fields are, one equipped with British weapons, the other with American." The side that wins puts in its own President, the other overthrows him and establishes its President. After every civil war of that kind the country's dependence on foreign capital has grown, the debt has become more oppressive and the people poorer.

Among all the 18 or 20 bloody conflicts caused by oil in various parts of the world, there is one somewhat similar to the situation in Spain. This was the White-Russian counter-revolution in 1917.

Under Czarism, Royal Dutch Shell held the major part of the Russian oil fields. But when the ancient regime in Russia was overthrown and the socialistic revolution established, the State sequestrated the country's oil fields. Deterding was left with an enormous load of shares that suddenly had become valueless, and at once started a violent campaign. Even in 1917 it was he who mostly financed the White-Russians during the counter-revolution. But the armies were international, as now in Spain. While it lasted, Russian oil shares went up and down on the European Bourses in keeping with the victories and defeats of the whites. In 1919 he tried to incite some of the tribes against one another, but failed. All his efforts were useless, but at last in 1923 he succeeded in starting a revolt in the Caucasus, but it was beaten down by the Soviet troops.

Spain has no oil, but she has refineries, and she has to buy her crude oil. Standard Oil and Shell-Deterding had the transport, the refineries and the Spanish market. But when the Nationalist, Alcala Zamora came into power, he did exactly the same with the refineries, petrol tanks and stations in Spain in 1927, that the Bolsheviks had done with the oil fields in Russia in 1917, he let the State seize them. He offered the companies 75,000,000 pesetas. They demanded 300 millions and took vengeance by laying Spain

" dry" of oil and by boycotting Spanish fruit in America and England, so that Spanish pesetas tumbled down.

In an article in " *Feuer Wiener Journal* " on the part which oil is playing in the war in Spain, it is said : " In all those parts of Spain where the nationalist government holds the power, Royal Dutch Shell has the monopoly on the petroleum and petrol trade. If the nationalists win—which Sir Henry Deterding doubts no more than General Franco—that monopoly will be expanded to all Spain."

Thus Sir Henry's interest in Franco's victory and his collaboration with the smuggler-millionaire Juan March, have their natural explanation.

Other capitalistic interests, however, are also represented in that devastated country. Even in April 1935 the large German metal company had formed a banking and industrial group to exploit Spain's mines. The group was joined by the mighty armament-industrial trust, Rheinische Metalwerke in Dusseldorf, Siemens and Halske, the war-works Vulkan and Krupp in Essen, and the German I. G. Farbenindustrie.

The enterprise was a comprehensive one, and the German group decided to allow Italian industry to come in. Rockefeller's representative in Italy took the scheme to Rome, and the Italian industrial society got the capital from—the insurance companies. Twelve of the group's confidential reports of the various Spanish mines, with analyses of their contents and value, were published in *Le Travail* on December 26th, 1936.

One of them contains asphalt, coal and probably oil. Another contains lignite, which I. G. Farbenindustrie uses for its liquid coal to replace oil and make Germany independent of the oil of others in case of war. The other mines contain iron, copper, graphite, nickel tin, etc. Some are mentioned as being very rich. Report No. 11 refers to a gold mine, for which the assay shows that a new German method of extraction can get 116 gr. of gold out of every ton. The gold mines of the Transvaal do not yield more than 10 gr. for every ton of ore.

The preparations were finished, the plan ready, the capital at hand. The group was convinced that the 1936 elections would see Gil Robles victorious, so that the concessions could be issued. When it turned out that the Republicans had got in, everything came to a standstill for the time being. The Italo-German group would apply for no concession from a Republican government. It waited patiently, from February till July, when General Franco let his Moroccans loose on the Spanish population, supported by German and Italian war material and troops.

Thus capitalistic interests run like a red thread through wars, rebellions and revolutions. The forces that have met on Spanish soil are the same that meet everywhere. The struggle that is being fought out is the standing struggle all over the world. It is the Church and capitalistic interests in Spain that are rebelling against the right of the people to benefit themselves from the country's wealth, both above and under the soil.

It is immaterial what name we give this unprecedented slaughter which is now decimating the Spanish nation. As Professor Delaissi says: , " there is no reason for distinguishing between the economic rivalries and the military wars. They have the same aim, the same motive, the same tactics and the same result."

INDIAN SHIPPING [1]

G. MEHTA.

SHIPPING as a mode of transport has been in existence since ancient times. Broadly, we might divide shipping into three categories. inland shipping, *i.e.*, in the rivers of the country, coastal shipping, *i.e.*, between the coastal ports of the country, and ocean shipping or overseas shipping, *i.e.*, between ports of one country and another, although all three are inter-related. Even in Ancient times, ocean shipping played not an insignificant part in the civilisation. Students of Greek history will remember that the Athenian civilisation, for example, owed its cosmopolitanism to Athenian connections with other countries owing to sea-transport. Those people who possessed shipping and had contacts with other countries by sea-routes always tended to be broader in their outlook than insular races.

I shall not, in my lecture to-day, deal at all with the question of inland shipping, although I might incidentally point out that for a Province like Bengal, it is a vital subject and I wish more attention is paid to the question of development of inland navigation in this Province. So far as India is concerned, it had also a glorious tradition of shipping and maritime activities. Those of you who are interested in this subject might refer to Dr. Radhakumud Mukherjee's famous book and there is an amount of literature dealing with this subject. I do not propose to take up your time in dealing with the earlier activities of Indian shipping but I would only quote a few striking references which will show the position.

Marco Polo has left some very important and interesting details regarding Indian ships and gives details regarding their size, form and fittings and the mode of repairing. He saw ships of so large a size as to require a crew of 300 men, and other ships that were manned by crews of 200 and 150 men. These ships could carry from five to six thousand baskets (or matbags) of pepper, a fact which indicates to some extent the tonnage of these Indian vessels. These ships were moved with oars and sweeps, and each oar required four men to work it.

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[1] A speech delivered under the course of the Vocational Guidance Lectures at the Darbhanga Hall, Calcutta University, on the 31st March, 1937.

The following extract is from the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" :—

> "In East Africa in A.D. 1498 Vasco Da Gama found sailors from Cambay and other parts of India, who guided themselves by the help of the stars in the north and south, and had nautical instruments of their own."

In the Mogul period, particularly under Akbar, the centre of maritime activity shifted to Bengal which then became the home of Indian ship-building. The port of Chittagong was, for example, a famous ship-building port and the seamen of Chittagong and Noakhali showed great skill in seamanship and even to-day they play an important part as crews of British ships. The Venetian traveller Cessare Di Fedorici writing about the year 1565 states that 200 ships were laden yearly with salt and that such was the abundance of materials for ship-building in this part of the country that the Sultan of Constantinople found it cheaper to have his vessels built in Dacca than at Alexandria. It will be remembered that Shivaji and the Maharattas had a navy of their own. Dr. Sen delivered a few years ago a course of lectures in the Calcutta University on the Maharatta navy and the part played by Kanohji Angria.

I will now cite two or three quotations of British authorities lest Indian historians be considered biassed. Lt. C. R. Low states in his "History of the Indian Navy" as follows :—

> "In 1802 the Admiralty ordered men-of-war for the King's Navy to be constructed at this spot. They intended to have sent out a European builder but the merits of Jamshedji being made known to their Lordships they ordered him to continue as Master Builder."

Lt.-Col. A. Walker wrote as follows in 1811 of Bombay Docks and Bombay-built ships :—

> "It is calculated that every ship in the Navy of Great Britain is renewed every twelve years......... Many Bombay-built ships after running for 14 or 15 years have been brought into the Navy and were considered as strong as ever......... Ships built at Bombay are also executed one-fourth cheaper than in the Docks of England so that

> for English-built ships requiring to be renewed every 12 years, the expenses quadruple."

Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General of India, wrote in 1800 as follows regarding Indian ships in the Port of Calcutta:—

> "The Port of Calcutta contains about 10,000 tons of ships *built in India* of a description calculated for the conveyance of cargoes. From the quantity of private tonnage now at command in the Port of Calcutta and from the state of perfection which the art of ship-building has already attained in Bengal (promising a still more rapid progress and supported by an increasing abundance and supply of timbers), it is certain that this port will always be able to furnish tonnage to whatever extent may be required for conveying to the Port of London the trade of private British merchants of Bengal."

As regards ship-building, too, very striking tributes were paid by Capt. Sir Edward Hedlam, the late Director of the R.I.M. who stated in an article in the London "Times" in 1931 that "the success of the ship-building was due to the discovery of the value of teak as a substitute for oak and to the great skill of the Wadia family as constructor who for over a century were in charge of the building of Naval and other vessels in the Government Dockyard."

Similarly, Capt. Turbett, the late Principal Officer, Mercantile Marine Department, Calcutta, stated as follows in the course of an article in *Sunday Statesman* last year:—

> "Among the finest vessels launched from the Government Dockyard were the "Malabar" (74 guns) and the "Ganges" (92 guns) which afterwards served as the flagship of Sir Edward Codrington at the battle of Navarino. It had been found that the teak forests of Malabar produced timber which was not only more durable than oak, but also contained properties which rendered it less susceptible to the teredo worm so prevalent in Eastern waters. Moreover, oak was becoming scarce in England, and the cost of labour in India was so low that a battleship could be built there for £ 20,000 less than in England. In all, 115 war vessels and 144 merchant or Government vessels have been built in the Bombay Dockyard."

I do not think it necessary for me to cite further quotations. It will be evident what a glorious past India had both in respect of shipping and ship-building. Naturally, the question will arise as to how and why both these industries declined. To students of economic history, this is not a difficult question ; they know how Dacca muslins were famous all over the world but how to-day we are using foreign piecegoods. The causes of the decline of Indian shipping, like the causes of the Indian textile industry, were partly industrial and partly political. The industrial revolution brought about a change in the technique of ship-building and ship-propulsion. Iron and steel ships were built in place of sailing ships and instead of sails they were propelled by coal and now increasingly by oil. I should add, however, that although England had a start in regard to the new industiral technique, other countries which were more or less independent subsequently adapted themselves to the new conditions and developed their shipping and ship-building accordingly. For example, America was able to develop its shipping on the new busis. As far as India was concerned, this was naturally impossible because the political and economic conditions precluded India from developing its own shipping. Just as the cotton excise duty was levied on cloth produced in this country, so our ship-building was handicapped and prohibited, while British shipping developed rapidly. Lest I be considered somewhat biassed, I would quote the opinion of two British authorities. Medows Taylor in his "History of India" says :—

> " The arrival in the Port of London of Indian-produced and Indian-built ships created a sensation among the monopolists which could not be exceeded if a hostile fleet had appeared in the Thames. Ship-builders of the Port of London took lead in raising the cry of alarm. They declared that their business was in danger and that the families of all the ship-wrights in England were certain to be reduced to starvation."

Similarly, the Report of the Directors of the East India Company dated the 27th January, 1801, indicates how the employment of Indian-built ships in the trade between England and India was opposed and this is one of the many arguments put forward :—

> " No British heart would wish that any of the brave men who have merited so much of their country should be without bread whilst natives of the East brought the ships belonging to our own subjects into our own ports and consider, therefore, in a fiscal, moral, commercial and political view, the apparent consequences of admitting these Indian sailors largely into our navigation form a strong addi-

> tional objection to the concessions of the proposed privilege to any ships manned by them."

It will thus be seen that political measures were also adopted in order to prohibit and, if I may use a strong word, strangle Indian shipping while, on the other hand, the changes in the technique of ship-building and shipping also led to the decline of Indian shipping.

Before I pass on to more recent history, I would like to point out the importance of shipping as an industry in trade and in war. You are no doubt aware that shipping is considered as a key industry in every country of the world and irrespective of the cost, large subsidies are paid by practically every Government, particularly since the War, to develop it. Every country wants to be self-reliant in this respect because the development of shipping is considered a matter of national policy and a matter of national defence and not merely as a question of economic wealth. The importance of transport in modern commerce is so fundamental that I need hardly dilate on it at length. The ship is a link in the chain composed of banking, insurance, export and import services, etc., which binds the seller to his buyer. No country, wholly dependent for the transportation of its ocean commerce upon other countries, can enjoy freedom or certainty of movement or reasonable expectation as to the rates it will have to pay. A non-shipping country always has been and always will be at a disadvantage in respect of rates because of its inability to participate in the rate-making. Moreover, the dependent country will suffer loss and inconvenience whenever emergencies or national demands of the carrying countries require the use of tonnage for national purpose. In an enquiry which was made by the League of Nations about a few years ago, it was found that out of nearly 32 countries 27 countries have reserved their coastal trade to their national shipping, one of the few exceptions being England which has comparatively a small coastal trade closely related to its foreign trade so that, in practice, nearly 90 per cent. of the coastal trade of England is carried in British ships. Earnings from shipping constitute a very important part of what is called "invisible exports" for a country like England and "invisible imports" for a country like India. The Board of Trade in England have elaborated a system of calculating the exact national earnings and the contribution of British shipping to the national Exchequer. This contribution has turned an unfavourable balance of trade of England into a favourable balance in more than one year recently and it has been calculated that the British shipping has contributed on an average 90 million pounds per annum towards the adjustment of Britain's trading account for the last five years. Conversely, because all the foreign trade of India is carried by non-Indian shipping, the freight earned constitutes, if I may use an old term, a " drain " from the country. Unfortunately, this subject has not, I am afraid, received the attention it deserves, particularly because no regular shipping freight indexes exist in this country. I drew the attention of Professors Robertson and Bowly to this question but no action has, so far as I am aware, been taken in this connection. There have been two or three attempts to determine the exact amount that is paid to foreign shipping for carriage of India's trade, one of which was by Prof. K. T. Shah, another by Prof. Findlay Shiras and the third by Mr. S. N. Hazi. I do not want to go into that controversy now but am referring to it in order to show the importance of shipping to national revenue and the balance of trade. In war and commerce transport plays an important part. The act of production can never be said to be complete until the commodity finally reaches the hands of the consumer so that shipping is productive and creative because so many of the commodities particularly in industrially advanced countries, which people use and consume would be unavailable but for shipping.

As regards the importance of a mercantile marine in war the merchant marine is not only a training ground and feeder of a navy but a reserve and second line of defence. Even a well-organised navy with its battleship and cruisers, its destroyers and submarines would be seriously handicapped if it were not adequately supported by the mercantile marine fleet providing transport, munition and hospital ships, auxiliary cruisers, mine-sweepers, submarine-chasers and other vital necessaries to naval warfare. It is owing to a recognition of this importance of a mercantile marine that the British budget annually provides for special appropriations for naval reserves such as retainers, which assist the manning of the merchant fleet. The British Admiralty has also paid from time to time subventions to certain lines with a view to utilise their vessels as auxiliary naval cruisers or transports in times of war and Government granted loans on easy terms as in the case of the " Queen Mary " and her sister ship. The Commander-in-Chief speaking in the Council of State on the 17th March on a Resolution by Mr. Kalikar emphasised this very point and stated that "in setting up an organisation of this kind, most other countries depend largely on the mercantile marine and on volunteer naval reserves. For instance, in England it was largely trawlers of the fishing industry that carried out mine-sweeping in the war. In India, at present, we have no naval reserves and our mercantile marine is still, so to speak, in its infancy." You must have noticed in the papers how Japanese trawlers are bringing fish into Bengal while in other countries such trawlers form a part of coastal defence. The irony of the whole position is that when we ask for mercantile marine development and contend that it is necessary as a measure of coastal defence, we are told that there is the British Navy to protect us at a trifling cost but when we ask for the establishment of a genuine Royal Indian Navy we are told that we have no mercantile marine worth the name."

Having shown the importance of shipping in peace and war and to trade and industry and even to national existence, I would like to refer briefly to the position in India. India has a coastline of nearly 4,000 miles with 7 major ports to-day as well as a number of minor ports and it has a very large volume of foreign trade. The coastal trade of India is nearly three times its foreign trade. Coming to more recent times, when Indian enterprises tried to build up shipping on modern lines on the Indian coast, one of the earliest experiments was that of Jamshedji Tata, the founder of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., to develop maritime trade between Japan and India, but it failed because of drastic competition and rate war carried on by the P. & O. and this British shipping company which for the last 93 years has been getting a mail subsidy from the Indian Exchequer made common cause with the Japanese interests in order to oust this Indian enterprise. These very same people are now demanding preference for Empire shipping, *i.e.*, British shipping in the Indo-Japanese maritime trade. The position to-day is that, according to some authorities, since the beginning of the century nearly 20 to 25 Indian shipping companies, large and small, have been tried to be floated at different ports all over India whose authorised capital has been calculated at Rs. 10 Crores. Most of these companies have gone into liquidation partly, I admit, owing to inexperience in this line but mainly owing to drastic rate wars and similar methods of competition carried on by the established British shipping companies. For instance, when the Scindia Steam Navigation Co. which is to-day the largest Indian shipping company first berthed their steamer, the rate from Rangoon to Bombay which was Rs. 16 was reduced to Rs. 6 which was below cost of operation and involved the companies in heavy losses. It was by such drastic rate-wars that several Indian shipping companies have been wiped out. The Scindia Co. in its very first year of existence suffered a loss of Rs. 40 lakhs and it was only because of a number of fortuitous circumstances that it was able to withstand such rate-wars. But it will be appreciated that in a country like India which is not yet industrially advanced, it is not possible to obtain without some sort of security adequate capital for the shipping industry which requires large capital not only to replace old ships and provide for depreciation and repairs but also to fight such rate-wars for one's very existence. So far as the present position is concerned, in the overseas or foreign trade of India, no Indian shipping participates at all. In the coastal trade of India, Indian-owned and managed tonnage amounts to 23·7 per cent. of the total tonnage engaged in the Indian coastal trade ; the share of Indian shipping in the coastal trade is rather difficult to calculate because coal which is carried from Calcutta and salt which is carried from Karachi, Bombay, Kathiawar Ports and Tuticorin are to-day open trades, *i.e.*- they are not subject to the Conference rates. But, approximately, it might be said that 19 or 20 per cent. of the total coastal trade in India is carried by Indian vessels.

I will now pass on to the Committee appointed by the Government of India in 1923-24 called the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee which was constituted as a result of the Resolution moved by Sir P. Sivaswami Iyer in the Legislative Assembly to consider steps for the development of an Indian Mercantile marine. Sir Edward Hedlam, the late Director of the R. I. M., was the Chairman of the Committee. That Committee made two important recommendations ; one was that the Indian coastal trade should be reserved for Indian vessels within a period of 25 years because the average life of a ship was taken to be 25 years ; and the other recommendation was regarding the establishment of a Training Ship for training Indian young men in marine services. The Government did not accept the first recommendation regarding coastal reservation but accepted the second recommendation and they established the Training Ship called the "Dufferin" in Bombay. As regards coastal reservation, no action was taken at all because although a non-official Bill, that was moved in the Assembly, was passed and reached the Select Committee stage, it eventually lapsed. Several attempts were subsequently made to renew the Bill but without success. In the meanwhile, came the three Round Table Conferences and the Joint Parliamentary Committee and the Government of India Act, 1935, where Sections 111-118 laid down that any such Bill would be absolutely *ultra vires* in future on the ground of reciprocity, that is to say unless a corresponding measure prohibited Indian shipping in England.

I would like to say a few words in connection with the Training Ship "Dufferin," because this is an important subject and particularly relevant to this series of lectures. A mercantile marine does not mean a Government fleet ; it means private shipping companies. Now under the Board of Trade Regulations, no one can become a Captain or a Chief Engineer or a Pilot of a vessel without possessing certain necessary technical qualifications. Men with these technical qualifications in other countries are available because they have their own ships where boys can be trained. In India, until about ten years ago, there were no facilities for training Indians in marine services. In the whole of India to-day, I do not think there are more than three or four Indians possessing what is called a Master's or Captain's Certificate for ocean-going steamers. The "Dufferin" was established with a view to train these boys and nearly 330 boys have joined the "Dufferin" since its inception in 1927. Most of them, except about eight or nine, have got employment. Since the last two years the "Dufferin has also been providing training in marine engineering and 25 boys are taken for navigational and 25 boys for marine engineering. This ship was established in 1927. The boys who should be between the age of 13 and 16 have to appear for a qualifying examination which is held about the 1st November simultaneously in Bombay, Karachi, Calcutta, Madras and then selected by the Governing Body of the ship. There are in Scindia Co.'s employment about 24 boys trained in the "Dufferin" and there are 3 or 4 Bengalee boys working as 3rd officers. In the Bengal Pilot Service in Calcutta—in which until 1927 there was not a single Indian—we have got now 13 Indian boys as apprentices, 3 trained in the Scindia Co. and 10 in the "Dufferin." The British shipping companies are unwilling to take these boys as officers and that has been the gravamen of the charge against them and the cause of public agitation during the last two years. As regards marine engineers, the boys have had to be trained in one of the marine workshops in Calcutta or Bombay. After that they are taken up on board a ship and then after training and subsequent examinations after 1½ to 2 years, they can become Senior Engineers. As regards the third department in a ship, the wireless operators, now-a-days every ship over 1,400 tons gross and every passenger ship is compulsorily required to carry wireless. Up to 1926-27, there were no Indian Wireless Operators and in that year the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs was induced to open a class in Alipore to train boys in wireless including marine wireless. To-day all our wireless operators are Indians and out of our 17 steamers, about 10 of them are Bengalee boys.

So far as the crew is concerned, I need hardly say that that is a technical subject ; their recruitment is done through the Shipping Office and for *Bhadralok* classes a Lascar's job is hardly suitable. In fact, in sea-life one does miss several of the amenities of shore life, and it is a hard life, particularly for those who have domestic and family ties. But the record of the " Dufferin " boys is excellent and not only Indian shipping companies but even other bodies like the Port Trusts and the Pilot Services are also satisfied by them. After all, in these matters one must take a long-range view and our young men must be allowed to become accustomed to this mode of life. We must not lose sight of the fundamental principle that Indian shipping should be entirely owned and managed and manned by Indians.

A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ELECTION—RICHARD CROMWELL'S PARLIAMENT

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IT is fairly well-known that, during the Protectorate of Richard Cromwell, the terms of the Humble Petition and Advice were not strictly followed in summoning Parliament. The "Other House" was called together in accordance with the Petition, but only, we learn, after more than a week had been spent in Council over the discussion whether there should be two houses or one.[1] In regard to the electorates for the representative House, the revised scheme of constituencies incorporated in the Instrument of Government was thrown overboard, and there was a reversion to the system of the days before the Civil War.[2] The writs now sent forth summoned "two knights with their swords girt, of the most fit and discreet persons of each county, and of every city of each county, two citizens, and of each borough, two burgesses of the more discreet and sufficient, according to the form of the statutes thereupon made and provided."[3] "Instead of the counties assembling as before in a body," Bordeaux informs us,[4] "each county is to elect two and the boroughs and counties were to choose the rest." Lawyers may have recommended this reversion to ancient practice, and probably the government considered the smaller constituencies to be more pliable.[5] Ludlow tells us that after long debate in the Council, the majority decided that members should be chosen for Scotland and Ireland, on condition that they were not to sit till the consent of those elected for by England was obtained. As a matter of fact, however, members returned for

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[1] *Cal. State Papers Ven. 1657-59*, p. 227.

[2] So far as constituencies in England were concerned, Wisbeach and Swansea sent one member each to Richard's Parliament, a privilege they did not enjoy before nor were to enjoy later on.

[3] "*Mercurius Politicus*," December, 16-23, 1658.

[4] Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, I, p. 374.

[5] Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ed. Firth, 1894, Vol. II, p. 48; Guizot, I, p. 374; "*England's Confusion, etc.*" 1659, Bodl. Barth. Pamph, 107 (11). Also reprinted in *Somers Tracts*, ed. Scott, Vol. VI.

Scottish and Irish constituencies sat and voted before their right to do so was determined.[1]

During the debate on February 1, 1658-9, Sir Arthur Haslerigge remarked that "there never was such a number of gentlemen so freely chosen." Six days later, he was even more emphatic. "We are here the freest and clearest and most undoubted representatives that ever were since the dissolution of the three States, King, Lords and Commons. I know not one member kept out ; if I did, I would on my knees beg his admittance." [2] Coming as they do from one of the most prominent leaders of the Opposition, these words very clearly indicate that the change in the electoral system was by no means distasteful to ardent republicans, and that the charges of governmental management of the elections are rather exaggerated. Efforts were certainly made by the administration to secure the election of its own supporters. But there was nothing at all singular about such a proceeding.[3] The constituencies, however, were not always pliable, as the results of the poll very clearly indicate. A random list of speakers who sternly opposed the government, including such men as Scott, Vane, Birch, Nevill, Weaver, Haslerigge, Chaloner and Ludlow, reveals the interesting fact that they all represented boroughs which are, as a class of constituencies, supposed to be more liable to government pressure at elections. Not a few of Richard's supporters were representatives of counties.

"I must needs say I like not the aspect of things, and my fears are greater than my hopes," wrote Thurloe to Henry Cromwell in announcing the Council's decision to summon a Parliament. The opponents of the government were busy with their daily meetings, "disputeing what kind of commonwealth they shall have, taking it for granted, they may pick and choose." [4] On December 14, Thurloe thought it "certeyne that C. Stewart and his brother James have designed to be here at the first meetinge of the parliament, taking it for graunted that troubles will come in with the Parliament." Lord Broghill, however, assured Thurloe that the elections in Scotland and Ireland would go as smoothly as desired; "we are sober enough," he added, "to thinke you halfe mad in England."[1] It is not only in the official correspondence of the Secretary of State that we meet with this nervousness about the coming elections. The Venetian Resident found that while some thought Parliament would work towards a settlement, others anticipated not only a change of government, but serious disturbances, "another conflagration which it will not be easy to quench."[2] "The French ambassador observed public opinion expecting important changes to follow the meeting of Parliament.[3] There were people who doubted, even after the writs had been sent out, whether the parliament would sit or no; "the Levelling party is so much discontented."[4] A correspondent of Secretary Nicholas, however, seems to think that while royalists confidently anticipated divisions and distractions in the Parliament, they were at the same time rather apprehensive lest Richard should surmount them.[5] Another correspondent seems more certain about "the disorders at home, which in all appearance this approachinge Parliament must produce;" his information was that "the Earle of Warwick, the Earles of Devonshire, Excester, with their countesses and divers other persons of prime quality" were coming over to France, "which some and perhaps not improbably, interpret to bee to flee from the evil to come."[6] The same informant had, some three weeks previously, written to Nicholas about an "interlopinge report," which he was not quite prepared to credit, "that Srs. Haslerigg and Vane are gott into the society and discontent of six regiments of the army declaringe against the present government."[7] It is no wonder, therefore, that while the air was thick with such rumours, there was a certain amount of nervousness in official quarters as to the issue of the elections. Richard had promised that the elections were to be free, that none who was elected was to be excluded by executive decree. [1] The elections showed that while the peaceable elements in the nation were disposed to a settlement, republican doctrinaires were still prepared to challenge a structure of politics that was alien to their ideas.

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[1] Ludlow, *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 49; Thurloe, *State Papers*, VII, p. 511. There is no reference in the latter to the proviso mentioned by Ludlow.

[2] Burton, *Parliamentary Diary*, III, pp. 30, 101.

[3] R. N. Kershaw, "*The Elections for the Long Parliament*," *English Historical Review* October, 1923; Thurloe, V; Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, Vol. III, Supplementary chapter, *passim*, for previous elections.

[4] Thurloe, *State Papers*, VII, p. 541. "There was a meetinge the other day of several commonwealths-men, to wit, Scott, Weaver Nevyll, Ludlowe, Cole, Blacke, Birche, etc, where resolutions were taken how the business should be managed in Parliament. The first thinge they intend to move is that all votes should be past by a ballatinge box, judgeinge that there will be many Nicodemittes in the house, who would be of their partye, if they durst. After this is past, they intend to dispute the parts of the Petition and Advice." Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, December, 1658. *Ibid*, p. 550.

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[1] *Ibid*, pp. 562, 573.

[2] *Cal. State Papers, Ven. 1657-59*, pp. 282-83.

[3] Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, I, p. 285.

[4] Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. V, App, *Duke of Sutherland's MSS.*, p. 146 [Rachel Newport to her brother, Sir D. Leveson].

[5] *Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1658-9*, p. 221.

[6] State Papers, Foreign. France, CXIV, f. 207; Q. N. to Sec. Nicholas, Paris. 17 January, 1659, N.S.

[7] *Ibid*, f. 180.

That most of those who sat for Scotland and Ireland were official nominees, is easily understandable when the conditions of election are taken into account. [2] It was part of the argument of the republican opposition, when it pressed for the withdrawal of Scotts and Irish members, that most of them were chosen at Whitehall, " whereof some had hardly been ever nearer Scotland than Gray's Inn." [3] The elections even in Scotland and Ireland, however, were not completely a walk-over for the government.

Thirty members each were returned from Scotland and Ireland. [4] General Monck writing to Thurloe from Dalkeith on December 17, 1658, assured him that the members chosen would be well affected, but regretted that Thurloe's recommendation of two gentlemen, Mr. Drury and Mr. Eyre had reached him too late. He had taken quick precautions " to prevent the shires and townes from engaging to other people; " " and they desire," he added, " to have most of their own nation at this time." He promised to do what he could for the two aforesaid gentlemen who, however, were not returned from any Scottish constituency. He enquired " to what places those three gentlemen, Mr. Oxburgh, Mr. Waller and Mr. Stuart, you first recommended, belong, because it will be necessary the townes should know it, when they returne them to Parliament." Mr. Stuart, however, even though recommended in time, failed to secure a seat. [5]

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[1] *Cal. State Papers. Ven. 1657-59*, p. 285.

[2] Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents* (ed. 1906), pp. 449-52, 459-60.

[3] " *A Narrative of the Most Material Debate and Passages in the late Parliament*," by Slingsby Bethel, 1659; reprinted in *Somers Tracts*, *VI*, pp. 477-87. The reference here is obviously to Thomas Waller of Gray's Inn, Esq., member for Linlithgow, Queen's Ferry, Perth. Culros and Stirling in Scotland, and for Sligo, Roscommon and Leatrim in Ireland.

[4] The list in *Old Parl. Hist.* gives 21 returns for Scotland; Browne Willis gives the same number. Nine more returns, hitherto unnoticed, are met with among the Clarke MSS. preserved at Worcester College, Oxford. These are: (1) Orkney, Zetland and Caithnesse; Sir Peter Killegrew; (2) Sutherland, Rosse, Cromarty: Major Ralph Knight; (3) Nearneshire, Elganshire: Nathaniell Whetham, jun. Esq., (4) Bamfeshire: Sir William Wheeler of Westmr. Kt.; (5) Kincardnish, Forfarsh: Earle of Linlithgowe; (6) Ayresh: Rentrew. Lt. Col. Roger Sawrey; (7) Dumfriezesh: Comissary William Rosse; (8) Dornoch, Invernesse, etc.: Edward Sedgewick Esq., Councellour att law: (9) Edenburgh [borough] Col. Nathaniell Whetham [with John Thompson, whose return is noted in Old Parl. Hist.] Clarke MSS. XXXI, ff. 1-3.

[5] Thurloe, *State Papers*, VII, p. 572. Messrs. Stuart and Eyres found seats in English constituencies; Mr. Drury seems less fortunate. Monck wrote to Thurloe on February 15, 1658-9, that if desired he would take care to secure his election when the next writs came. *Ibid*, p. 613.

Later in the month, Monck though confident that most of the members would support the government, was rather worried by the propaganda of certain people, the Marquis of Argyle among them, to get Scotchmen rather than Englishmen chosen." [1] Argyle himself was chosen for Aberdeenshire, and Monck was by no means pleased about it. Broghill had written to Scotland to get one Mr. Greene, recommended by Thurloe, chosen by some constituency ; but his name does not appear among the returns. [2] When Thurloe desired the election of Judge Advocate Whalley for Peebles and Selkirk, Monck informed him that a Scotch gentleman, Archibald Murry, was chosen for the place, but that there was a possibility that he would not go up, as he expected more wages than the country could give, in which case new writs might be issued, and Whalley chosen. [3] An amusing sidelight is thrown on Scotch elections by two extant letters from the provost and bailiffs of Selkirk and Peebles boroughs who had been prevented by heavy floods from going up to Lauder where the poll was taken, adjuring their burgess, Dr. Clarges, to try to ease their burden of assessments and to secure the right of farming their own excise. [4] Monck was confident that the members would be well affected to the Protectorate, and we find him recommending them to official favour. [2] He, however, made sure that government nominees should not expect any wages which might turn the electors against them. [6]

There was a certain amount of electioneering enthusiasm, even in Ireland. On December 15, Thurloe wrote to Henry Cromwell urgently insisting that members chosen should be hastened away as soon as possible, " for otherwise they will be of no use at all to our affaires which probablie may come to an issue within a few days after the parliament sitts." Henry Cromwell wrote back on December 23, that the elections were " like to be good here," but regretted that the writs were long in coming, which might hinder the members from reaching Westminster in time to foil the rumoured intention of the house to exclude them by a vote.[1] Clarges informed Henry that it was imperative to have " five or six good argumentative speakers " elected, and recommended five names for election.[2] He wanted some other person than Mr. Bysse who was unlikely to come over, to be elected for Dublin.[3] Arthur Annesley[4] was returned for Dublin and was presumably supposed to be a supporter of the government.[5] Broghill, writing to Thurloe on January 24, 1658-9, was confident that " honnest men " were being sent up, but referred to " som notable juggelings in elections, and that necessitated me to stay." He wrote from Cork on January 22, that "there were greate endeavors to have had som chosen that I was not very sure of ; but their designe was defeated." He offered to engage for the bonafides of his " owne cousengerman. Sir Maurice Fenton, a gentleman of 20,00*l*, a yeere; and our burgess lieut. col. Foulkes, a gentleman of 800*l*. a yeere."[6] Sir Maurice, who had been knighted by Henry Cromwell, was obviously a very safe man; we see him writing to Henry from Cork on January 21, and praying for instructions: " I shall not presume to undertake until I receive your excellency's permission for my goinge."[7] Broghill, again, was instrumental in the election of Thomas Waller of Gray's Inn, from the counties of Sligo, Roscommon and Letrim. The recommendation had reached him rather late, but he had secured his kinsman, Sir John King, to persuade a friend of his who was already in the field, to stand aside and make room for Waller. This apparently was a successful move, as is seen from a letter of the sheriff to Henry Cromwell, announcing the unanimous election of Waller, who, the sheriff writes, " was especially recommended to me by Broghill and Sir John King." and one Mr. Robert Parke of Newtowne in the county of Leatrim. The sheriff adds a rather significant note: "...how confident that may stand with your excellencys pleasure I am ignorant of: yet being generally voted by the county, I could not in discharge of my dutye doe less then accept of them." [1]

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[1] Monck to Thurloe, S. Disbrowe to Thurloe, December 30, *ibid.*, p. 584.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 597, 600.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 616.

[4] Clarke, MS.. LI ff. 60b, 62.

[5] Bodl, Rawl. MS. A LXIII. f. 54. Dalkeith, January 25, 1658 [59] Monck to Thurloe. " The Earle of Linlithgowe, being chosen comissioner of parliament for the shires of Kincardin and Forfar came to visitt mee before hee went away and told mee that hee had nott taken this journey unlesse itt had bin to do his Highnesse service and therefore I shall desire yor Ldppe to afford him all the careful favour you may in any of his concernemte hee has to doe with his Highnesse, and what favour you please to shew him I shall take itt as a courtesie done to yor Lo : ppes very humble servant, George Monck." Writing from Dalkeith, March 17, Monck recommends Commissary Rosse to Thurloe :"...hee is now a member of this parliament, and I am confident hath carried himselfe as an honest man," Thurloe, VII, p. 633. The name of these two members are not mentioned in Old Parl. Hist. but are met with in the list among the Clarke Manuscripts.

[6] Thurloe, *State Papers*, VII, pp. 574-5. Monck to Thurloe, December 21, 1658; S. Disbrowe to Thurloe. Edinburgh, December 9 : " ...there being som countyes and townes in this nation who being not able to mayntayne such as they would elect, and so will chuse non at all, except some persons to be recomended to them, who will put them to noe charge." *Ibid.*, p. 555.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp 565, 579.

[2] Of these five, Sir Anthony Morgan was returned for counties Meath and Lowth Mr. Vincent Gookin for Bandon and Kinsale boroughs and Dr. William Petty for Westlooe borough in Cornwall. The two others, Mr. William Domville and Mr. William Temple do not seem to have secured seats. Lord Fitz Maurice in the " *Life of Sir William Petty*" (ed. 1895), prints from the Lansdowne MSS. an interesting letter from Gookin to Henry Cromwell, dated January 21, 1658-9, in which the writer refers to certain differences with Lord Broghill as regards the election of Petty, pp. 78-81.

[3] Thurloe, VII, p. 553.

[4] He regularly corresponded with Henry Cromwell. Lansdowne MSS., 823.

[5] As regards Annesley's voting with the Commonwealth party, see letter of Anthony Morgan to Henry Cromwell, March 8, 1658-9, Lansdowne MSS., 823, f, 245.

[6] Thurloe, *State Papers*, VII, pp. 597, 600. Fenton was returned for County Cork, and Foulkes for the City of Cork and the town of Youghal.

[7] Lansdowne MSS. 823, f. 202.

It was, of course, in England itself that the elections created the greatest interest and kept the government busy. As early as November, 1658, Lord Chief Justice St. John is found recommending to Thurloe the discharge of Mr. Gott who was " in the paper for sheriffe of Sussex." " He will certainly be of the next Parliament ; and it will be a great obligation to him." [2] On December 8, Clarges wrote to Henry Cromwell that " there never was more need than now to choose honest and able men," for as Thurloe wrote on December 21, " there is as great striving about the elections as ever was in England and all men who usually give us occasion of some business or other are gone into the countrye about the elections." " Wee mind here nothinge but the elections," he wrote a week later, a statement almost verbally repeated by the Venetian Resident in one of his well-informed despatches.[3] Clarges came, however, to find that in spite of the utmost endeavours to get such men chosen as were of peaceable and healing spirits, " some of the eminentest of contrary inclination will get in." [4] Some of the royalists were hopeful that the elections were to be free as had been announced, parliament was " likely to be composed of more moderate and worthy persons than they lately have been." [5] Doubts, however, were expressed by some of them as to what might follow the session of Parliament ; a Commonwealth, it was feared, might blast all hopes.[6] The same correspondent of Secretary Nicholas wrote a week later about certain rumours that the writs were being countermanded,[1] an indication, presumably, of nervousness on the part of the government. Presbyterians were straining every nerve to get elected, and if Bordeaux is to be believed, they intended to support the Protector against the army, if they found themselves unable to form a government of their own.[2] Thurloe lamented to Henry Cromwell that " there are some men in the nation of the soberer sort, who doe wholly stand still, and care not to be elected...others, *viz.*, the commonwealth men, stickle all they can to get into the house." [3]

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[1] Thurloe, VII, pp 593, 547. It is interesting to notice in this connection a letter written by Fleet-wood to Oliver Cromwell on 8 August, 1654. in which he encloses a list of elected members for Ireland, and adds : "...I desire to know yr Highnes pleasure...whether I should admitt all, or how many of them to come into England..." B. M. Addl. MS. 4156, f. 77.

[2] Thurloe, *State Papers*, VII, p. 531. Gott sat in parliament for one of the Cinque Ports. He spoke in favour of transacting with the other House, March 7, Burton, Diary, IV, p. 57.

[3] Thurloe, *State Papers*, VII, pp. 573, 575, 581; *Cal. State Papers, Venetian, 1657-59*, p. 277.

[4] Thurloe VII, p. 581.

[5] *Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1658-59*, p. 225.

[6] Pe[rcy] Ch[urch] to Sec. Nicholas, January 3, 1658-9, S. P. Foreign, France, CXIV, f. 182. This has been calendered, but is wrongly referred to as Flanders correspondence.

A pamphlet, printed for Livewell Chapman, can be taken to be typical of the opposition manifestoes of the time and deserves to be extensively quoted. The franchise, we read, " is our first common right, by which we are distinguished from the Turkish and Russian slaves, and peasants of France." " You ought not to chuse those who in a selfish, ambitious manner seek and hunt after the imployment and use unlawful and indirect means to attain thereinto...Give not your voices for wicked, ungodly and irreligious men who scoff at the power of godliness...neither ought you to make choice of them who have been and are excessive gainers by the times. Are there not amongst us, that before the late wars were not worth two hundred pounds in all the world, who now possess lands worth thousands per annum....Be not forward to chuse lawyers to be your parliament men...it may well be said of their pleading, ' Scarce any man can discern which is the truth '...Chuse not such for your representatives... and care not much, so their own party be upheld and counternanced... Chuse not mercenary souldiers that make a trade of war and will dispute no commands....How well they have performed their promises and what faithfulness...may be expected from them for the future, I leave it to their own consciences and to the serious consideration of the good people of the nation....Single out the men who are least ingazed in respect of the times and have least dependance on the great men of the times....You should chuse men of considerable estates and interest in the nation, such being more concerned to vindicate the laws, rights and liberties of the people (for they have more to lose) then men of beggarly and broken fortunes....The people overbalance by far any one single person or family ; yea, and the nobility also, and the greatest interest being in the people, it will be your wisdome to chuse such men as have a right understanding thereof....Let such be chosen by you as are well acquainted with the undoubted birthrights, liberties, and freedoms of all true Englishmen...." As to the militia, " the People are more concerned in it than all the Protectors and Privy Councils that are or ever shall be....Suffer not yourselves to be imposed upon in your elections nor to be befooled out of your liberties by the menaces, threats or flatteries of any noblemen, gentlemen, souldiers and sheriffs....The law provides that a free and indifferent election shall be made in full county, notwithstanding any request or command to the contrary...." This pamphlet appears to be a fairly comprehensive statement of the notions held by most of the different elements that made up the Opposition.[1]

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[1] *State Papers*, Foreign France, CXIV, f. 185.
[2] Guizot, *Richard Cromwell* I, p. 285; *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, *1658-9*, p. 247.
[3] Thurloe to Henry Cromwell January 4, Thurloe, VII, p. 588.

Writers of the time who were not particularly well-disposed towards the government did not lag in preferring charges against government influencing the elections by unworthy means. We hear of " letters, menaces, flatteries bribes and other indirect means of some of the nobility, clergy, sheriffs and new courtiers, to surprise the poor ignorant inhabitors of the burroughs."[2] Another writer informs us that " the people who in their diffuse condition is capable only of obeying their superiors and not of disputing the legality or illegality of their commands made choice " of members as they were directed. [3] Ludlow affirms that " the court used their utmost endeavours to procure such men to be chosen as were their creatures and had their dependencies on them, in which they had no small advantages." [4] The republican version of the proceedings in Richard's parliament refers to complaints being made "that Whitehall had writ 80 letters for the making members of parliament, most of which have had their effect ; that Mr. Howard, a papist and brother to the Earl of Arundell, boasted that at the instance of the Protector and Secretary, he had sent 24 members to the Parliament." [1] Among the Clarendon manuscripts is a reference to the alleged statement of a French Marquis in touch with English affairs, that "Lord Howard of the Arundells has power to nominate 18 of the parliament's members." [2] Howard's case roused considerable attention and on April 8, the House of Commons ordered an enquiry into his conduct. [3] Whatever the precise truth of the allegations, it was no novelty for the government in power to try to influence the elections. But for Richard's parliament, there must have been considerable freedom in the matter of choice, or so many commonwealths men and others who had no party labels could not have been returned.

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[1] *Some Grave and weighty considerations, humbly proposed to the people to direct them in the choice of their representatives, etc.* Bartholomew Pamphlets, 106 (14). Bodleian Pressmark.

[2] *Twenty-five Queries, modestly and humbly, and yet sadly and seriously propounded to the People of England and their representatives, etc.*, Godwyn Pamphlets, 647, (14). Bodleian Pressmark. It is among the Thompson Pamphlets, British Museum Pressmark, E. 968 (5) under date, February 16. The 13th query which raises the dubiousness of Oliver's nomination of his successor, and the 22nd query which desires the office of Single Person to be elective, furnish internal evidence of its date. We learn it was delivered to all parliament men and publicly sold without any interruption. *Cal. Clarendon State Papers, IV*, (ed. Routledge. 1932), p. 147.

[3] *A True and Impartiall Narrative of the most material debates and passages in the late Parliament together with the rise and dissolution of it*, By a member of that Parliament who is none of the present parliament, London, 1659. Godwyn Pamphlets, 647 (7), Bodleian pressmark.

[4] *Memoirs*, II, pp. 49-50. " The officers of the Admiralty and Navy had a great influence not only upon the Cinque Ports, but also upon all sea towns whatsoever, and could press at their pleasure any inhabitants to serve at sea, and thereby ruin both them and their families. The sheriffs who generally were men chosen for such purposes, contributed no little assistance to their design by disposing the writs to whom they pleased and making themselves judges of the fitness and due qualifications of all those who should vote at the several elections." Ludlow, of course, was a violent partisan, and his statements naturally enough were coloured by his prejudices. Col. Kenrick, for instance. whom Ludlow himself recognizes as one of his friends was elected for Hythe; Rye accepted the recommendation of Col. Morley, who was by no means friendly to the protectorate, and elected William Hay. Hist. Mss. Comm. XIII. 4. *Corp. of Rye MSS*, pp. 231-33.

Though details of most elections are unfortunately missing, what little have survived are of particular interest. We should love to know more about the Westminister election, where the excitement was so great that two men, we hear, "were crowded to death." [4] London returned four members, William Thomson, Theophilus Biddulph, John Jones and Richard Brown, the last three of whom had previous parliamentary experience. Clarges wrote to Henry Cromwell on Dec. 21, that there were so many in nomination for the city of London that he was "not able to guesse at those will carry it." [5] We understand that the election of Brown was held over for a day, the other three being chosen on Jan. 11. [6] Brown was elected in spite of the support given by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to his opponent, Robinson, "until of late years as great a cavalier as was in England." [7] At King's Lynn, "several burgesses of this burrough of the commons at large" were refused the right of participation in the election by the corporation. [8]

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[1] 'A narrative of the most material debates and passages in the late Parliament' by Slingsby Bethel, *Somers Tracts, VI*, pp. 477-87.

[2] *Cal. Clarendon, S. P. IV*, p. 128. Jan. 5/15, 1658-9. [Marcés] to Hyde.

[3] *Commons' Journals, VII*, p. 632. Writing on April 4, Howard, while claiming his right as a burgess to try to get the best men chosen, denied the allegation that he had publicly told some people and written to one that he had been engaged by the Protector and Secretary to secure the return of Col. Feilder and Mr. Goddard as burgesses for Castlerising in Norfolk, Thurloe, VII, pp. 642-44. For this election, see *infra*.

[4] Clarke MSS. XXXI, f. 14b. News letter, signed G. M.

[5] Thurloe, VII, p. 559.

[6] *Clarke Papers*, ed. Firth, Vol. III, 173.

[7] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers, IV*, pp. 133, 143.

[8] *MSS. of the Corporation of King's Lynn.* Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. XI, App. Part 3. pp. 149-50. It is interesting to notice that the commonalty established their right on the eve of the elections to the Convention Parliament.

The election at Reading led to rather interesting developments. Henry Nevill and Daniel Blagrave were, we learn, "unanimously elected burgesses in parliament by near 1,000 persons." [1] There were, however, exciting scenes before this election ; for "when the mayor of Reading proposed a person for election to Parliament not acceptable to the burgesses, and imposed upon him by the 'great ones,' they took from him his gown and mace, elected a new mayor and such a burgess as pleased them. [2] We have the report of an election speech made by John Hobart, member for Norwich, a centre of opinion by no means favourable to the Protectorate, [3] among the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian. Hobart who was being returned for the third time, exhorted his constituents that "as diligence and faythfullnes are my duty, so I hope you will thinke yourselves under an obligation to afford me both your assistance and encouragement ... ." [4] The election at Cambridge University provokes considerable interest. Lord Chief Justice St. John, it appears, had recommended Secretary Thurloe, whose preeminent position would perhaps in any case have secured his return. Dr. Benjamin Whichcot wrote to St. John that the Secretary was sure to get in first, though "the uncertainty lies in this that every master of arts hath as much to doe in this election as any doctor." Whichcot wrote later: "I am never confident of ought, that is in the hands of a multitude ; yet greater probability and likelihood there cannot be of a thinge." [5] There was considerable doubt, however, as to the second choice. Sir Anthony Morgan who was recommended by Henry Cromwell having withdrawn on election from an Irish constituency. Dr. Whichcot mentioned one Gremial as a probable choice and referred to two or three more whom he did not name, as being in competition with one another, "yet all with submission to Mr. Secretary." [6] One William Hetley, who seems himself to have been an aspirant for election, wrote to Henry Cromwell on Dec. 26, [7] that on Morgan's withdrawal, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Bond, had stood as a candidate, but only on condition that Henry in the meanwhile had not changed his mind as regards Sir Anthony. Nothing more is known about Bond's candidature and one Mr. Bacon, who seems to have been at some time or other officially recommended, could not secure election, because most of the university were, we learn, pre-engaged and hoped no misconstruction would be made of the election of Dr. Sclater who was ready to concur with resolutions tending to settlement.[1] Thurloe was unanimously elected with " 120 voices, a greater number than ever I knew here upon the like occasion ; " Sclater had 84 votes.[2] The other figures of the poll are unknown. Thurloe was also chosen for Wisbech and Huntingdon, he and Mr. Barnard, St. John's son-in-law, being elected for the latter place ; St. John's son found a seat at Peterborough.[3] The poll at Newcastle was taken under very exciting conditions. Col. Clarke of London, Mr. Recorder Shaftoe, Mr. Blaxton and Captain Lilburn were nominated for two seats; the polling went on from 8 A. M. to 7 P. M. and " after many high words and discontents on each party," Shaftoe and Lilburn were returned in spite of the opposition of certain people who were expected to help them. There was a poll of 1,239 votes ; Shaftoe had 449 ; Lilburne 341 ; Blaxton 269, and Clarke 180.[4] An interesting situation arose at the election for Westmoreland ; the country wanted Sir George Fletcher, and it was only his own letters and his friend's entreaties that could somehow prevent their choosing him against his will. Sir Wilfred Lawson and Mr. Briscoe were thereupon chosen.[5] Ludlow informs us that Vane was refused election from Bristol and Hull, though he had the majority in both places, and could only get elected for Whitchurch in Southampton county through the good offices of Mr. Robert Wallop who, we are told, was chosen for the county in despite of threats from the court party owing to his support of Vane.[6] Ludlow does not, however, appear very reliable on this point. It is rather unlikely that the Bristol corporation would have offended Vane, who was Lord High Steward of the city. The death of Oliver Cromwell had made him once more a personage of great political importance, and the city paid him part of his customary honorarium which it had judiciously forgotten to do in Oliver's lifetime. Robert Aldworth, Town Clerk, and Alderman Joseph Jackson were elected for Bristol with instructions "to consider of any enlargement that might be convenient for the city charters."[1] There was considerable excitement at the election for Buckingham where the Anabaptists were making a bold bid for the seat.[2] The election at Malton cost Howard and Marwood "neare 200 l."[3] Danvers, who sat for Westbury in Wilts and was expelled for delinquency. was alleged to have gone there a month before the poll and "made the electors drunk every day with sack." The report was that it cost him £100 to be chosen.[4] For Worcestershire, the candidates were Sir Nicholas Lechmere, Mr. Foley, Mr. John Talbot and Mr. John Nanfan. Letters to Hyde show that royalists had confidently hoped and even reported Talbot's success. Lechmere and Foley, however, were the successful candidates; the election cost them £614, which they "paid to a penny."[5] There seems to have been an exciting contest for the second seat in Middlesex; Sir James Harrington, Mr. Chute, and Mr. Berners were the candidates, and the issue was long in the balance till Chute won.[6] Some twenty election contests[7] were carried to the House of Commons in 1659, and the proceedings before the Committee of Privileges add considerably to our knowledge of what sometimes happened during the poll. Many of the complaints refer to misdemeanour on the part of the returning officers who sometimes refused to accept the votes of duly qualified persons or sent up wrong indentures of return. A few of these cases are particularly interesting. On March 22, the House resolved on the recommendation of the Committee that the freeholders of the borough of Peterfield in Southampton County had the right to vote along with the burgesses and that the mayor having made a surreptitious election after only half an hour's notice, fresh writs be ordered for a proper election.[8] In the case of the town and county-borough of Carmarthen, the sheriff was committed to custody for making a false return in favour of Rowland Dawkins who had not more than 20 valid votes, while his opponent, David Morgan, had as many as 120.[1] An agitation for wider franchise triumphed in the case of Colchester. The mayor, aldermen and common council of the borough had chosen John Maidstone and Abraham Barrinton Esquires, while the free burgesses and inhabitants chose John Shawe Esq. and Abraham Johnson, merchant. After hearing precedents adduced by both parties, the award was given to the latter.[2] There was a complaint from the borough of Taunton in Somersetshire that the mayor who returned Sir William Windham, Bt. and Col. Thomas Gorges, finding that more votes were being cast for Dr. John Palmer and Richard Bovell, Esq., who were returned by another indenture, "did by translating the poll from one place to another, without the petitioners and others consent, discourage them from prosecution of their right in electing; and that the said mayor refused to take the names of divers of the petitioners, and others, then present, who voted for Dr. Palmer and Mr. Bovell." The decision, however, went in favour of the Mayor."[3] The election at Castle Rising in Norfolk witnessed a pandemonium. The candidates were Guybon Goddard, Esq., Col. John Feilder and Col. Robert Jermie. Goddard and Jermie or some on their behalf had, it appeared, invaded the chancel of the parish where the poll was held, "with a drum and other loud instruments," "with about 400 persons, some of which were soldiers armed with swords and pistols; they set up certain persons to take the poll for them, without the direction of the Mayor, and hindered divers persons which were going to the poll for Mr. Feilder. The mayor ultimately returned Goddard and Feilder, but the election was declared void owing to default of a due poll.[4] These cases prove a considerable amount of electioneering enthusiasm, which is further borne out by the fact that 18 members of this parliament were returned from more than one constituency.[5]

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[1] *MSS. of Reading Corporation.* Hist Mss. Comm. Rep. XI, App., Part 7, p. 193.

[2] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers, IV*, p. 126 ; *Mercurius Politicu*, (Dec. 23-30, 1658); *Clarke Papers*, Vol. III, p. 171; *MSS. of Reading Corporation*, Hist. Mss. Comm. Rep. XI, App. Pt. 7, p. 193.

[3] Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, Vol. III, Supplementary chapter, p. 11.

[4] Tanner MSS. LI, ff. 16-19. "...... and herein I do declare myselfe that as I am now trusted for this whole city, so I shall not receyve any advice as binding me to act in anything which shall concerne this city in generall, but what shall come to me from the Representative body of it ...... ".

[5] Thurloe, VII, pp. 559, 574.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 574.

[7] Lansdowne MSS. 823, f. 173.

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[1] Thurloe, VII, p. 587.

[2] Marc. Pol., Dec. 30—Jan. 6, 1658-7.

[3] Thurloe, VII, p. 582 ; Jan. 2. 1658, Mayor of Huntingdon to Thurloe : ... as it was a free choyce, soe your lordship would be freely pleased to serve for us ... *Ibid.*, p. 588.

[4] *Clarke Papers*, ed. Firth, Vol. III, p. 174. *Cf.* John Martay's offer of help to candidates supported by Thurloe, Dec. 3; Thurloe, VII, p. 549.

[5] *Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1658-9*, p. 247.

[6] *Memoirs*, II, p. 51.

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[1] Latimer, *Annals of Bristol in the 17th century* (1900), pp. 283, 285.

[2] *Memoirs of the Verney Family* (ed. 1894), Vol III, p. 444.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 476.

[4] Burton, *Parliamentary Diary*, III, p. 243.

[5] Hist Mss. Comm. Rep. V. *MSS, of Sir R. Lechmere*, p. 299.

[6] *Clarke Papers*, III, p. 174. At first, there were doubts about Chute's adherence to the cause of the Protector,; Whitelock. *Memoirs. IV*, p. 339; *cf.* Hyde to Mordaunt, May 9, 1659. *Clarendon State Papers III*, pp. 464-5.

[7] The cases are collected from *Commons' Journals.*

[8] *Commons' Journals*, VII, p. 617.

The composition of Richard's Parliament is an interesting study.[6] The republican contingent was fairly well represented. There were, among its members, Bradshaw, Vane, Haslerigge, Ludlow, Nevill, Okey and Weaver; Scott had secured a seat at Wycombe after an unsuccessful attempt at Aylesbury. There were anti-Cromwellians of various shades like Fairfax, Sir A. A. Cooper, Morley and Maj. Gen. Browne ; they were joined by Lambert who had stood for three places and was returned for two.[1] These men, feared the Venetian Resident. " with many others who are not altogether satisfied, might arouse some sleeping dog and stir him up to bite and do mischief." [2] One of Secretary Nicholas's correspondents wrote from Antwerp, under date Jan. 13/23: " In England there are divers chosen for their approaching Parliament that may cut out new words." [3] Several, again, were chosen who, in Giavanna's words, " have always shown a greater leaning for the royal party than for the present government." [4] As early as October 6, 1658, Lord Wentworth wrote to Charles II from Antwerp, informing him of the offer of " Mr. John Howe of Gloucestershire, a man of great estate and power in that country, being a man never hitherto suspected by Parliament," to raise 3,000 men at the King's command and to use all his influence over all the members of his county who should sit in Parliament. [5] One of Hyde's correspondents wrote on Jan. 26, 1658-9, that some of those who had been elected, desired particular warrants from the king to authorize their sitting and enclosed one such supplication from a Gloucestershire member, Howe not improbably. [6] It is impossible, however, to reckon the possible number of concealed Stuartists in this Parliament. There was an unknown mass of 300 or so whose political opinions were yet to be unravelled. Some 150 lawyers are said to have found their way to the house ; this we hear, " was more than ever before ; they are of all factions." [7] The majority of them, however, were supporters of the existing order. [8] In a county like Cornwall, where the patronage of neighhbouring aristocrats was a factor to be reckoned with, [9] the reversion to the old electoral method led to the return of the leading gentlemen (including such names as Trelawney, Carew, Buller, Scawen, Rous, Kendall, Moyle, St. Aubyn, Tredenham, Prideaux, Boscawen) who either actively supported or affected to sympathize with the prevailing system of government. [1]

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 617-18; see in this connexion, J. H. Round, '*Colchester under the Commonwealth*,' E. H. R. 1900, an illuminating commentary on Oliver Cromwell's dealings with corporations; *cf.* B. L. K. Henderson's "*Commonwealth Charters*" in Trans. Royal Hist. Soc. 1912.

[3] *Commons Journals*, VII, pp. 624-25.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 262.

[5] The cases have been collected from *Commons Journals.*

[6] Masson, *Life of Milton*, Vol. V, p. 430.

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[1] Thurloe, VII, p. 588; *Cal. Clarendon State Papers, IV*, p. 138; Major General Harrison was we hear, sure of a seat, but refused on account of a scruple to take the oath required of the members before taking their seats. Thurloe, VII, pp. 590, 594.

[2] *Cal. State Papers. Ven. 1657-59*. p. 285.

[3] *Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1658-59*, p. 253.

[4] *Cal. State Papers, Ven. 1657-59*, p. 284.

[5] *Clarendon State Papers, Vol. III*, p. 417.

[6] *Cal. Clarendon State Papers, IV*, p. 137.

[7] *Ibid*, p 140.

[8] *Ibid*, p. 148, Feb. 12. Jonas Tomkins [Sir John Grenville] to Mr. Edward Shawe [Hyde]. It is supposed the Protector will have to forbid the Lent assizes, because he cannot spare the lawyers from the house. ......

[9] William Morice's purchase of the Werington estate is said to have secured him the election for Newport in Cornwall. W. P. Courtney *Parliamentary Representation of Cornwall*, (1899), pp. 379-80.

A royalist correspondent gives a fairly accurate idea of the position of parties in the new house: "From their first meeting, the Commons have consisted of two extreme parties (one for the protector, the other for a Commonwealth), and a modest party between both, able to cast the scales on which side they please ; and this makes the foresight of things very obscure." [2] The divisions in Commons' Journals bear out the presence of this "modest party" which was, as a rule, a force on the side of the Protectorate more than of its opponents. So Falconbridge could write to Henry Cromwell on Feb. 18: "The men in the parliament are very numerous and beyond measure bold, but more than doubly overballanced by the sober party." The fear was not so much from the Parliament as from the doings of the "factious part of the officers" who had renewed "their old practice of remonstrating." [3]

Masson enumerates the returns to this Parliament to be 558 ; nine are to be added to his list, for his Scottish list only counts 21. [4] Some 153 of this number were returned to the Convention Parliament of 1660, including 21 members whose elections were declared void. Sixty-five of those whose names recur in both parliaments were only beginning their parliamentary career in 1658-59. Some 170 of the members of Richard's parliament had been elected to the parliament of 1656. How opinions would have differed among members of this assembly may be fairly gauged from the fact thet 45 of those who were excluded in 1656 found seats there and that, on the other hand, 42 who had voted for Cromwell's assuming the Crown were there too. [5] 142 of those who at one time or other spoke in the parliament of 1658-9, had previous parliamentary experience and 58 of them found seats in the Convention. [6] The attendance was fairly full the largest division bringing together 387 members. The divisions in February secured the attendance, on an average, of some 314 members ; the average for the next month was just over 311 ; that for April was 221.[1] "The great number makes things very tumultuous," writes Anthony Morgan to Henry Cromwell on March 8, 1658-9, "and the house is so hot that I doe not see how it can be borne in sumer. I know not whether that will be amongst the reasons of our not sitting so long ... ".[2]

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[1] *Ibid*, Introduction, xii.

[2] Thurloe, VII, p. 615.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 612.

[4] This, of course, is not an exact reckoning. Some of the double and contested returns were not decided, and sometimes the fate of new writs is unknown. Masson, *Life of Milton*, Vol. V, p. 430.

[5] The lists in *Old Parliamentary History* and Cobbett's *Parliamantary History*, have been made use of.

[6] *Cf.* the list of speakers in the parliaments in 1656 and 1658-9, with the places for which they served during the Interregnum, Burton, *Diary*, *IV*, pp. 487-500.

Richard's parliament illustrates a certain continuity of political life and at the same time presages coming change. It had retained features of Cromwellian reforms and discarded the rest. It had shown that old allegiances were still strong and at the same time new loyalties were being forged. As in its principle of summons, so in its actual composition, it was a blend of new and old, and Janus-like, faced both the past and the future.

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[1] The figures are collected from *Commons' Journals*. In this connection, C. H. Parry's "*Parliaments and Council of England*" (*ed. 1839*) has been of very considerable assistance.

[2] Lansdowne MSS., 823, ff. 245-6.

THE NEW LABOUR LAWS AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC PLANNING IN FRANCE[1]

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE MATIGNON AGREEMENTS (JUNE, 1936)

M. LEON BLUM'S Government was put into office (May, 1936) by the bulk of French working men for the purpose of promptly discharging a twofold and heavy task. On the one hand, it was called upon to help the country to recover from a severe economic depression which a deflationary policy had rendered more distressing for the working classes and for the small tradesmen. It had to resort immediately to reflationary measures of a nature to restore to the country a sound economic activity. On the other hand, it had to raise the standard of living of the French working man, to enable him to become a consumer, so as to make him the starting point of a revival of French national economy.

The first action taken by Leon Blum as head of the Government was a decisive one. Early in June at the Premier's Office (Hotel Matignon), with Leon Blum himself in the Chair, assisted by the late Roger Salengro, then minister of the Interior, the representatives of the *Confédération Générale du Travail* met the representatives of the *Confédération Générale de la Production Française.* In the course of this meeting a national agreement was signed between the Government, the representatives of labour, and those of the employers. This agreement provides *inter alia* for the recognition of the right to form a trade-union, to collective bargaining, to the appointment of workmen's delegates in workshops and factories, and to increased wages. The so-called Matignon agreements constitute the corner-stone of Leon Blum's social work.

In a speech at Orleans, on October 18, Leon Blum summed up as follows what the country expected of him when it put him into office:

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[1] For part of the *data* I am indebted to M. Paul Dubois, Consul-General for France, Calcutta.

‘ Worn out by the effects and after effects of the depression, the country expected the amendment and alleviation of its hardships. It expected, together with a revival of business, a fairer distribution of social benefits. It expected an improvement in the material and moral standard of all kinds of wage-earners, of farmers, of middle-class traders and craftsmen. It expected the democratic institutions which it had set up and made its own to be protected against all and sundry encroachments and threats.''

First came a series of extraordinarily wide and comprehensive social measures—the Matignon agreements, the laws instituting the forty-hour week, paid holidays, collective bargaining, miners' pensions, and so forth. These set up on a new basis and in a new spirit the standard of living of the labouring classes.

Furthermore, as regards the measures taken more particularly with a view to the improvement of the economic conditions, the performance of Blum's Government in France can be compared with that of President Roosevelt in the United States, which it resembles in more than one vital particular and from which, indeed, it sometimes derives its inspiration. Like Roosevelt, Leon Blum has staked his all on the reflationist policy without fearing to resort to the most drastic and direct methods.

The social measures actually passed consist both of entirely new laws and of readjustments of already accepted laws. They establish a new order, in the strict sense of the word, but do not relinquish any vital part of the old democratic system which they tend, on the contrary, to reanimate by adapting it to new necessities.

As a matter of fact, many of the reforms instituted by the present Government, had already been discussed in the course of the last few years; they were felt to be necessary. On the whole, all of them have a common aim; that of vivifying as well as broadening the relations between the masses and the Government. Altogether, France like other countries of Eur-America has been passing through an economico-political phase such as may be aptly described as neo-socialistic and neo-democratic.[1]

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[1] For neo socialism, neo-capitalism, etc., see B. K. Sarkar: *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics* (Calcutta, 1936).

PAID HOLIDAYS

The law on Annual Paid Holidays gives all labourers an annual holiday of at least a fortnight's duration. The law met practically with no opposition. A similar reform had been suggested a few years back. But, owing to the mass of difficult questions brought about by the deflation, it had been relegated to the background, and no one had come forward to bring it into the limelight again.

Many social laws voted under the Blum Government were accompanied by practical measures. In the case of Annual Holidays on full pay, M. Leon Lagrange, Under-Secretary of State at the Ministry of Sports and Leisure, arranged with the Railway Companies that a reduction of 40 to 60 per cent. should be conceded to workers who had chosen to spend their holidays away from their usual home, whether in the country with their family, or in some seaside resort or at some mountainous district.

One of the most important consequences of the new law was to make it possible for the youngest among city workers to develop their bodies and find in the practice of outdoor sports the necessary relaxation and bodily exercise which should allow them to lead a healthier, sounder existence. The point was exceptionally important, in that the French working man, as a rule, had but little opportunity of engaging in outdoor exercises ; in the first place, he did not have the requisite time ; but even if the time had been available it would have been difficult for him to find grounds on which to play games and instructors willing to teach him. The first credits voted on account of public works which are one of the features of the fight against unemployment are appropriated to the laying out of sports grounds.

THE FORTY-HOUR WEEK

This law, which restricts to seven hours daily and to forty hours weekly the duration of work in commercial and industrial establishments, has various objects in view. Its most important aim, for certain purposes, is to increase the workman's hours of leisure and give him more opportunities for developing his mind and body.

The forty-hour week is the last of the series of reforms pursued during a century for the purpose of reducing the hours of work. The first law tending to limit the hours of attendance of wage-earners in the establishments employing them was enacted almost a hundred years ago ; it dealt only with children. Subsequently other laws brought down to twelve, then to ten, the daily hours of work for adults. After the War, the eight hour day was instituted in France. But in spite of the considerable technical progress which has taken place since 1919, the law underwent no change until the present Government came into power.

As happened with paid holidays, the Government did not limit itself to the extension of the working man's hours of leisure, but also concerned itself with schemes for providing the labouring classes with ampler means of relaxation than they had hitherto enjoyed. It is now planning the creation of clubs where young people should find books, music, a general and friendly atmosphere after their working hours. It has decided also to appropriate public monies to a number of subsidised theatres, making it possible for the working classes to attend those already in existence and to set up in most Paris suburbs two or three large playhouses where the working man should be sure to find a good show after his own taste. With regard to provincial and country districts, stock companies are to be sent with greater frequency through the towns, where they will give more attractive performances than heretofore, while travelling libraries will circulate from village to village.

EXTENSION OF SCHOOL AGE

Another no less essential aspect of the Blum Government's social reforms appears in the law which makes *attendance at school compulsory for children under fourteen years of age* This law enables French children of the lower classes to study one year longer, for hitherto attendance at school was only compulsory up to thirteen. Nor, indeed, does the present Government consider the extension of the school-leaving age as either sufficient or final, but merely as a first step in that direction ; the efficiency of which is being assured by the opening of new class-rooms and a demand for more teachers.

The objects of this law were not purely educational. They also had to do with the fight against unemployment, for many children who had already begun to work at thirteen had to make over their jobs to others who had reached the age when they could really begin to earn without finding the means of doing so.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

With regard to the new organization of labour, one of the most important laws for which the new Government is responsible is that on collective bargaining, which tends to give the greatest possible uniformity to the conditions of employment within a given industrial sphere. By giving the greatest possible scope to customs which were hitherto arbitrary and depended solely on the goodwill or the whim of the employer, this law improves the conditions of labour and reduces possibilities of conflicts.

It contributes, moreover, to impart to the average working man a deeper, healthier sense of his own significance and place in the economic sphere for it comprises the institution of delegates in work-rooms and factories. These delegates, elected by their fellow-workers, do not interfere with the factory's life. Their duties consist in transmitting to employers the claims of their comrades. Besides, as they are not only granted recognition but approved of as essential by the law, they can face the employer on an equal footing, without fear and without defiance, in all freedom.

Collective bargaining works in the following manner. An organisation, which feels it necessary to determine or adjust the laws and regulations of the branch of industry to which it belongs, requests the Minister of Labour to call a meeting between the qualified representatives of the employers' and operatives' organisations belonging to the said branch of industry. If the commission thus formed cannot come to an agreement, the Minister of Labour is empowered, if so requested by the interested parties, to settle the issue according to his own judgment.

SOCIAL INSURANCE

The readjustment of the law on social insurance was made necessary by the rise in wages instituted by the Matignon Agreements. The new social insurance law raises from 15,000 to 25,000 francs the amount of yearly wages on which insurance must be paid. Moreover it takes into account the number of persons depending on the wage-earners, doing away with the inequalities existing in that respect in the wording of the law of 1935.

The economic crisis and the deflationist policy had made it necessary to pass a new law concerning the funds appropriated to the pensions of workmen who had suffered accidents in the course of their work, for the said funds had been practically exhausted by the great number of unemployed persons in receipt of allowances. A law was promptly passed remedying this deficiency.

COMBATING UNEMPLOYMENT

During the last few years, the number of workers unable to earn their living increased until it included the twentieth part of the French working population: 400,000 men and women, over 200,000 of whom lived in or around Paris. The problem of unemployment is twofold: how to enable the unemployed to carry on until they find work, and how to find work for them.

In the last few years, many schemes and programmes designed to reduce unemployment came up for discussion before Parliament. But it is only natural that the present Government, with its origin rooted in the people, should have devoted a considerable part of its activity to this very grave question.

The measures adopted by the Blum Government fall under three heads: first those granting the fullest benefit of relief to the workers entitled to it ; then the laws amending the existing conditions of employment in order to find work for part of the unemployed ; and finally, the measures designed solely to provide work for the unemployed.

First comes the law specifying that the dole cannot be distrained upon or transferred in any shape or form. This important point had never been defined before, and the possibility of the unemployed being deprived of sums which barely enabled them to live was particularly objectionable.

Under the second head come the measures tending indirectly to reduce the number of the unemployed, such as the forty-hour week, the law reducing the age limit of Government Officials, the law against the plurality of offices, and the law concerning war widows and orphans.

Obviously the forty-hour week entails the employment of a greater number of people by bringing down from 8 to 7 hours a day, the duration of work in industrial and commercial establishments. The additional workers naturally have to be taken from the ranks of the unemployed.

The law which brings down to 60 years the age limit for some officials of the State and to 55 years for others was particularly needed in this country. For, it is a fact that French officials remained in office at an age when in other countries they were peacefully enjoying their pensions, and it was not rare to find, on entering some Government office, that one had to deal with some persons of seventy or more. The many posts rendered vacant by the application of the law are also calculated to contribute to the reduction of unemployment.

A less important but rather significant measure taken against unemployment is the one that affects war widows and orphans. Five years after the War, a law was passed reserving for the said widows and orphans three-fourths of the situations available in factories controlled by the State. But the present Government rightly considered that, on the one hand, war widows were not as able to adapt themselves to a new kind of work in 1936 as they had been in 1923, and that, on the other hand, the forty-hour week would entail employment of a greater number of workers, in State factories as elsewhere; it therefore restricted the number of posts reserved for war orphans, especially for war widows.

PUBLIC WORKS PLANNING

Finally, we come to the laws whose only object is to do away with unemployment.[1] They are embodied in a vast plan of public works. Plans more or less similar to that suggested by the present Government had already come up for discussion in France. The earliest one, in fact, was drafted some little time before the economic crisis, in 1927. The most ambitious of these plans was the Marquet scheme, under the Doumergue Government, which was to have lasted ten years and was based on an annual credit of 1,500 million francs. The present Government's plan is swifter and more ample. The public works projected are to be carried out in the course of four years, and the expenditure is to reach a total of 20,000 million francs.

The works will consist of an amplification and improvement of agricultural, sanitary, scientific, artistic, scholastic, sporting, touristic, naval and colonial equipments, as well as the realisation of any new schemes that may be deemed to be of national interest. The plans connected with the laying out of stadiums, athletic grounds, clubs, libraries and theatres, as mentioned above, are an important part of the projected public works.

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[1] For a parallel study see B. K. Sarkar: "Economic and Social Reconstruction in Germany" (*Empire Journal*, Calcutta, October and November 1936).

One of the most interesting features of the plan is that it conciliates local enterprise with the central leadership. In fact, all the money necessary for the execution of the works is not to be supplied by the State alone. All the bodies interested in them will have to pay and will therefore have a voice in the matter.

It has been calculated that, when these public works are in full swing, they will require the employment of about 400,000 additional workers. They will not be employed exclusively in the actual work of construction, but also in the factories which will provide the relevant materials. For the public works, it is expected, will necessarily be accompanied by an intensification of industrial activity throughout the land.

MINERS

The present Government did not limit itself to raising the standard of living of the workers as a class, and to giving them laws that make for more order and greater security in their work. It has also established a difference between the average wage-earners and the workers who have to adapt themselves to particularly hard conditions, for instance, the miners.

In the law instituting the forty-hour week here is an article specifying that underground mine workers shall not remain in the mines more than 38 hours and 40 minutes a week. This period does not include the time spent in transit in the elevators nor a compulsory break for rest (half an hour). Furthermore, a law raising miners' pensions from 5,500 to 6,000 francs was adopted with all speed.

ECONOMIC POLICY

The main economic effect of the measures taken by the Blum Government tends to raise the price of raw materials and, in a lesser degree, the price of manufactured articles. The Government therefore helps the smaller commercial firms to carry on through the changes due to the social reform by granting them loans and facilities for delayed payment of their debts. It controls also the cost of living so as to prevent the higher prices of the raw materials and the cost of labour from having an undue effect upon retail prices. Besides, it intensifies the monetary circulation by such means as the recent tripartite agreement, which once more opens a large field to French exports. All those measures have social effects, although they were not devised with social aims in view.

FARMERS

The farmers in France as in other countries including India were perhaps the ones to suffer most from the deflation. These found themselves strictly unable to make a living out of their land. They sold their produce at such a low price that they could not pay for their seeds and their labourers, let alone their rent, except by getting into debt. At the beginning of 1936, it seemed only a question of time before the small farmer found himself practically dispossessed throughout the country. The only possible way of salvation was an immediate raising of the selling prices of wheat and such staple produce to a level proportionate to their cost price. This the Government accomplished by setting up an Interprofessional Wheat Office.[1] That Office, working under the control of the Ministries of Finance and Agriculture, is run by a Central Council which includes representatives of the producers, tradesmen and consumers, as well as representatives of the Ministries of Agriculture, Finance, National Economy and the Interior. The Central Council fixes the price of wheat, taking into account the abundance of the harvest as well as the cost of living, wages and the general cost of production. In short, it takes wheat from the speculators to give it back to whom it should belong: the French peasant.

The extent to which the price of wheat had fallen below par is amply shown by the fact that the Central Council of the Interprofessional Wheat Office raised it from 55 francs to 140 francs. All other staple agricultural produce likewise acquired a value more than 50 per cent. higher than in 1936. The social consequences of the transformation are easy to assess: the peasant is no longer victimised and beggared but is now able to sell his produce for its full value.

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[1] See B. K. sarkar : " Wheat Planning in France " (*Calcutta Review*, Sept., 1936), and " British Agricultural Policy since 1931 " (*C. R.*, January, 1937).

But the creation of the Inter-professional Wheat Office did not suffice to re-establish farmers in the place they had formerly occupied, for most of them had run deep into debt. In view of this fact, the Government granted by a law a postponement of one or two years in the payment of their debts to all farmers whose good faith could be established (payment of debts to employees was naturally not postponed).

Having thus set the French farmer once more on his feet, the Government is now concerned with changing his methods, which are relatively primitive by the standard of the more advanced Eur-American countries, for the French peasant instinctively clings to his plough and oxen. Nevertheless it is felt by Premier Blum and his collaborators that when it becomes really easy for him to use electricity and motors instead of his hands and his oxen, he will gradually overcome his rooted distrust for machinery and realise its advantages. Indian students of sociology and economic development may derive profit from a knowledge of such French facts and ideas.

TRADERS

Smaller traders and shopkeepers were badly hit first by the depression, then by the deflation and now by the social transformation. It was not a question of undertaking further reforms, but simply of adopting transitory measures enabling craftsmen, shopkeepers and the like to carry on. These measures consist, as in the case of the farmers, in the extension of facilities for postponing the payment of debts, as well as of the loans to the amount of as much as 12% of the wages paid to employees by manufacturers and tradesmen. In the case of exportation firms advances are made by the Government.

On the other hand, rents, which had been cut down by 10%, on account of the depression and which were to have been raised this year (1937), were maintained at the same level as previously in spite of the policy of reflation followed in other fields.

The material consequences of the economic and social reform are best proved by figures. With regard to unemployment, we find that during the week from November 16 to November 21, 9,394 unemployed found steady jobs.

Commercial failures, which reached a total of 1,116 in May, 1936, were down to 412 in September of the same year. The tonnage of goods that left from the six principal French ports increased from 1,845 in June to 2,243 in September.

EARLY ANNALS OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

By A. P. Dasgupta.

THE early records of the Calcutta University consisting of the Minutes, Calendars and mark rolls provide a fascinating study to those interested in her history and the history of education in British India. It is proposed here to convey an idea of the information that we can obtain from these sources about the early history of our Alma Mater.

The reader is no doubt aware that in consequence of the scheme outlined in the famous education despatch of 1854, Act II of 1857 was passed establishing and incorporating the University of Calcutta. The University was constituted, on the model of the University of London, as a purely examining body admitting to its examinations students in affiliated institutions.

The first meeting of the Senate took place on the 3rd January, 1857, with Sir James William Colville, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal as the first Vice-Chancellor, in the Chair. The Indian members who participated in the first deliberation of this august body were Prince Gholam Muhammad, Babu Ram Gopal Ghose, Babu Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Babu Ramaprasad Ray and Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. Maulvi Muhammad Wajeeh, Principal of the Calcutta Madrassah, the remaining Indian member, was not present. Mr. W. Grapel, M.A., Professor, Presidency College, was appointed Registrar for two years and the four faculties of Arts, Law, Medicine and Civil Engineering were constituted. The Senate also resolved that Mr. Beadon, William Gordon Young (Director of Public Instruction), the Reverend Joseph Mullens, Lt.-Col. Baker, Dr. Grant and Babu Ramaprasad Ray together with the Vice-Chancellor be appointed a Provisional Committee, "with power to make such arrangements as may be required for the Entrance Examination, and for the transaction of the other necessary business of the University; and also to frame the rules required for the future government of the University."

SIR JAMES WILLIAM COLVILE, KT.

OUR FIRST VICE-CHANCELLOR

1857—1859

MAKING OF THE BYE-LAWS AND REGULATIONS.

The Provisional Committee thus constituted met for the first time on the 10th January to approve the scheme for the first Entrance Examination of the University that was to be held in April, 1857. In its meeting of the 17th January the schemes for the Entrance Examination to be held in 1858 and the first examination for the degree of Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery were passed. On the 24th January the Provisional Committee decided that the ordinary meetings of the Committee were to be held on the last Saturday every month. A meeting was however held on the 7th February. The next meeting was held on the 28th February when the subjects for the B.A. Examination of 1858 and 1859 were settled. The Bye-laws and Regulations relating to the Entrance and the Degree Examinations in Arts were finally approved in its meeting of the 28th March and fifty copies of these were ordered to be printed off and circulated by the Registrar among the members of the Senate. The Regulations relating to the other degrees were under the consideration of the several faculties and the Registrar was ordered to "write to the several faculties requesting them to meet and having elected their own Presidents to proceed finally to consider the Regulations in their own Faculty."

On the 4th April, 1857, the Faculty of Law met for the first time. The Vice-Chancellor laid before the Faculty the Regulations relating to the degrees in Law. The Faculty resolved that the Regulations be printed and "forwarded to the Provisional Committee with a view to their incorporation into the general scheme of bye-laws to be submitted to the Senate for consideration at the general meeting." The Faculties of Civil Engineering and Medicine met on the 8th and 9th April and similar resolutions were made. These Regulations passed by the several faculties, with the exception of a few rules proposed by the Faculty of Medicine, were adopted by the Provisional Committee on the 2nd May.

The Bye-laws for the government of the University and the Regulations relating to the examinations of the degrees in the several faculties having been thus settled by the Provisional Committee "in communication with the several faculties," the Vice-Chancellor laid them before a meeting of the Senate held on the 6th June. The Bye-laws and the Regulations for the Law Examinations were adopted *in toto.* The Regulations in Arts were also adopted subject to a reference to the Faculty of Arts on a few points. But the Regulations in Medicine and Engineering were referred back to the Faculties. These were finally adopted on the 5th September, 1857 and the Registrar was instructed to forward the Bye-laws and Regulations to the Governor-General in Council for consideration.

The approval of the Governor-General in Council was received in October and the Registrar had 150 copies of the Bye-laws and Regulations printed off and circulated to the members of the Senate, the Principals of affiliated institutions and to the Secretaries to the Local Committees of Public Instruction. A few copies were also made on royal folio paper and the common seal of the University affixed. By resolution of the Senate, the Provisional Committee carried on the business of the University for 1857. The Bye-laws had established a Syndicate consisting of the Vice-Chancellor and six Fellows elected annually by the Faculties and the executive government of the University had been vested in this body. The elections took place in November, 1857, and the Syndicate held its first sitting on the 30th January, 1858.

THE FIRST CALENDAR.

In November, 1857, the Provisional Committee resolved "that the Registrar do communicate with Messrs. S. Smith & Co. and endeavour to make some arrangements with that firm for the publication annually of a Calendar of the University ; the work to be published at the cost and risk of the publishers, the Registrar supplying the necessary information and list of names." Messrs. S. Smith & Co. agreed to undertake the publication as an experiment for one year and to supply the University gratuitously with 25 copies. In May, 1858, however, the Registrar had to report to the Syndicate that Messrs. S. Smith & Co. had declined to publish the University Calendar according to the original propositions. Accordingly, arrangements were made with the Bishop's College Press by guaranteeing them against loss for the first two years, and a few months later a most valuable little volume consisting of not more than 222 pages came out of the press. The Calendar was drawn up on the plan of the London University Calendar. Beginning with the Almanac for 1858, it contains the Act II of 1857, the Bye-laws, the Regulations relating to the different examinations, the composition of the Senate, the Syndicate and the faculties, lists of text books, examiners, institutions affiliated to the University, graduates and undergraduates, and the question papers—all in one volume. What a contrast with the growing size of the present Regulations volume and the three huge parts of the Calendar !

THE FIRST ENTRANCE EXAMINATION.

The first Entrance Examination was held on the 6th April, 1857. Calcutta and twelve other places, *viz.*, Berhampur, Krishnagar, Dacca, Chittagong, Pabna, Bhagalpur, Cuttack, Benares, Agra, Delhi, Ajmere and Lahore, were gazetted as centres. At these places the Secretary to the Local Committee of Public Instruction was placed in charge of the examination. Candidates who were testified to be 16 years of age and of good moral character were admitted to the examination on payment of a fee of Rupees Five only. They were examined in—I. Languages—candidates had to appear in English and one of the following languages:—Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi and Urdu, II. History and Geography, and III. Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. A very salutary practice was adopted of having oral examinations in languages. Fifty marks were allotted in each language paper for the oral examination and in order to pass the candidate had to obtain 12½ marks or 25 per cent. The difficulty of holding oral examinations in centres other than Calcutta was obviated by arranging that questions were to be asked and marks awarded by any of the members of the Local Committee of Public Instruction, and, where the number of the candidates was very large, by any other responsible person whose assistance was considered advisable to requisition. In History and Geography, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, answers could be given in either of the languages taken up. Thus provision was made for enabling candidates to answer papers in Indian languages.

The Examination was conducted by a Board of Examiners who were as a body made "responsible for all the questions set as well as for the valuation of the answers." Each member of the Board was to "be ready if called upon to assist, so far as he is able, as well in the other subjects of the Examination as in that or those to which he has been specially appointed." Mr. G. Smith, Principal, Doveton College, was appointed examiner for English and Classics, Mr. E. B.

Cowell, Professor, Presidency College, for History and Geography, Mr. W. Masters, Professor, Metropolitan College, for Mathematics, Captain St. George, Officiating Principal, Calcutta Madrassah, for Arabic, Persian and Urdu, and Revd. K. M. Banerjee, Professor, Bishop's College, for Sanskrit and Bengali. Each member of this Board was to receive a remuneration of Rs. 300 irrespective of the number of candidates. Since the interval between the publication of the notification and the examination was very short and it was seen to be impossible for candidates to read the stated portions from the authors named, the examiners were instructed "to be less stringent in their requirements and to fix their paper at a somewhat lower standard than might on future occasions be advisable." 25 per cent. was fixed as the pass marks and 50 per cent. was required for the first division.

Two hundred and forty-four candidates appeared. "Of these candidates all were educated, or living in Bengal, Behar and Orissa, with the exception of ten, all of whom were students of the Delhi College." 115 passed in the first division, 57 in the second division, 67 failed and 15 were absent.

THE FIRST EXAMINATION FOR THE L.M.S.

For the Licentiateship in Medicine and Surgery, the Regulations prescribed a course of five years study at a school of Medicine. There were to be two examinations leading to the L.M.S. Those who were engaged in medical studies for two years and had passed the Entrance Examination and were 18 years of age could go up for the First Examination. Three years after passing the First Examination they could go up for the second and Final Examination.

Before these regulations were passed, however, the first pass examination of the students of the Medical College was begun on the 2nd March, 1857. This was thus the first examination held by the Calcutta University. Those who produced certificates of having studied for two years in the Medical College and of having completed 18 years of age were admitted to the examination. Candidates were examined in Descriptive and Surgical Anatomy, Chemistry, Botany, Materia Medica and Pharmacy. The examinations were written, oral and practical.

The results were reported to the Provisional Committee on the 28th March and declared on the 2nd April. Six candidates passed in the first division and six in the second division.

This examination was held to stand in lieu of the first examination in Medicine prescribed by the Regulations and the twelve successful students were entered in the University records as having passed that University examination.

The question of passing the Entrance Examination did not obviously arise in the case of the candidates in 1857. The candidates for the First Examination in 1858 were on the recommendation of the Faculty of Medicine exempted by the Provisional Committee from producing the Entrance certificate. The Committee, however, ordered that " on all future occasions the certificate as to Entrance will be strictly required."

THE B.A. EXAMINATION OF 1858.

The first B.A. Examination of the Calcutta University was held in the year 1858. The Regulations laid down that the Examination for the B.A. degree " shall take place once a year, shall commence on the first Monday in April and shall be held only in Calcutta." The degree was not to be conferred on any candidate within four academic years of his passing the Entrance Examination, but candidates could be admitted to the examination after three years of passing the Entrance. Any person who passed the Entrance Examination of the Universities of Madras or Bombay could be admitted to the examination for the B.A. degree provided he satisfied the necessary requirement. The fee for the examination was fixed at Rs. 25.

Under these provisions there would have been no B.A. examination before 1860. The Regulations, however, stipulated that " for the first three years after the establishment of the University, the only requirement from candidates for the degree of B.A. shall be that they produce certificates showing that they have passed the Entrance Examination, and are of good moral character."

No intermediate examination between the Entrance and the B.A. was provided for till 1860, when the First Arts Examination was instituted.

Candidates for the B.A. degree were examined in—Languages, History, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Physical Science, and Mental and Moral Sciences.

As for the Entrance Examination, they had to take up two languages, *viz.*, English and one of the following languages:—Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Bengali, Oriya, Hindi, Urdu, and Burmese. The syllabus for History consisted of (*i*) the principles of historical evidence " as treated in Isaac Taylor's two works on the subject, or other similar books," (*ii*) the History of England up to 1815, including the history of British India, (*iii*) Elphinstone's History of India, and (*iv*) Ancient History with special reference to the History of Greece to the death of Alexander, the History of Rome to the death of Augustus and the history of the Jews. Mathematics and Natural Philosophy included Arithmetic and Algebra, Geometry, Plane Trigonometry, Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics and Pneumatics, Optics and Astronomy; Physical Sciences included Chemistry, Animal Physiology and Physical Geography; and for Mental and Moral Sciences candidates had to be prepared in the elements of Logic " as contained in Whately or other similar works," Moral Philosophy " as contained in Wayland, Abercrombie or other similar works," and Mental Philosophy " as contained in Abercrombie, Dr. Payne or other similar works."

Thirteen candidates enrolled themselves for the examination. Three were absent during the whole or part of the examination. Of the remaining candidates all failed. The Board of Examiners however recommended " that two candidates, *viz.*, Bunkim Chunder Chatterjee and Judoonath Bose who had passed creditably in five of the six subjects, and had failed by not more than seven marks in the sixth might, as a special act of grace, be allowed to have their degree, being placed in the second division, it being clearly understood that such favour should, in no case, be regarded as a precedent in future years." The Syndicate thereupon resolved that the two candidates be admitted to the B.A. degree.

Thus the University passed through the first two years of its existence giving shape to its first regulations and holding its first examinations. It is not possible here to carry the narrative further. It is believed, however, that enough has been said to point out an unexplored though fascinating field for the historian of University education in India.*

* A part of this article appeared in the Advance (Puja Special).

WORDSWORTH'S EXPERIMENTS WITH THE SONNET FORM.

NRIPENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE, M.A.

WORDSWORTH holds a high place among English sonnet-writers and many critics have praised him for his wonderful mastery of the difficult sonnet-form.[1] In this essay we want to point out some interesting features of Wordsworth's experiments with the sonnet-form which have not so far been noticed or properly understood. What we want to stress is that Wordsworth made, what we may call, the 'romantic' use of the sonnet. Here we use the term in its simple, Johnsonian sense, *i.e.*, 'fantastic' or 'out of the way,' without conveying thereby any idea of disparagement. The sonnet-form—the most exacting form in English—had, before Wordsworth, certain definite uses. The English or the Shakespearian Form was used for manifold moods of love and wooing, and for the darker moods of dejection and complaint by a host of Elizabethans.

The Petrarchan Form, however, was not quite amenable to gentler uses. Milton with occasional *enjambements* and greater concentration made it the voice of prophecy; he also made it the form for self-expression, at least for the part of his grand self which had a public aspect. The English Form was also used for purely meditative purposes, and both the forms for more conventional and trivial matters, dedication, flattery of a patron, etc. After Milton there was the dreary tract of pseudo-classical modes of expression, the sonnet-form was lost. When it was revived in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the poets were just feeling their way. Bowles—whom Coleridge deified—made a remarkable use of it for his melancholy, sentimental and gentle observation of the soft Devon Country. It was Wordsworth who brought out with the latent powers of the form, powers unknown before.

WORDSWORTH'S REJECTION OF THE SHAKESPEARIAN FORM.

Two things are remarkable, *viz.*, Wordsworth's rejection of the Shakespearian Form and the theme of Love. The latter was a matter of temperament and the former, we believe, may be accounted for in this way:—Perhaps "the earliest authoritative record of Wordsworth's attempts in verse"—as Mr. William Knight puts it [1]—is a sonnet entitled, "Sonnet, on seeing Miss Helen Maria Williams weep at a Tale of Distress" (1787). Now this sonnet is in the authentic Elizabethan Form (a b a b, c d c d, e f e f, g g). In May, 1802, (a time of intense experiment with Wordsworth) when he listened to his sister's reading of the sonnets of Milton, he, in his own words, "was struck on that occasion with the dignified simplicity and majestic harmony that runs through most of them—in character so totally different from the Italian, *and still more so from Shakespeare's fine sonnets.* I took fire, if I may be allowed to say so, and produced three sonnets the same afternoon, the first I ever wrote, except an irregular one at school. Of these three the only one I distinctly remember is 'I grieved for Buonaparte'" etc.

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[1] According to Mr. Crosland, Wordsworth is the greatest of all the English sonneteers. Professor Elton who is more cautious in his judgment praises the perfection of many of Wordsworth's sonnets. But Wordsworth has his detractors too : "Of the full *prosodic* beauty of the sonnet I do not think he was even master," says Prof. Saintsbury (*A History of English Prosody*, Vol. III, p. 74).

This passage is sufficiently illuminating. The choice was made because he found a 'dignified simplicity' and 'majestic harmony' in the Miltonic Form (which was not so strict as the orthodox Italian Form)—qualities which he did not find in Shakespeare's sonnets. The Shakespearian Form is, as is quite obvious, more loosely-knit, lighter and gentler, "irregular" as Wordsworth himself calls it. Wordsworth at that time was stirred by momentous public affairs, things which had stirred Milton also and who had responded with his trumpet-toned sonnets. But such a thing had never happened to Shakespeare. Naturally Wordsworth selected to use the Miltonic Form. All the sonnets written in 1802 are on similar themes. In Wordsworth's choice of the Miltonic Form, we find his sense of artistic fitness, his care and regard for form [2] and also his devotion to and admiration for the personality of Milton. The interesting point to observe is that whereas Milton loomed large in Wordsworth's mental horizon, Shakespeare did not influence him to any noticeable degree.

"ROMANTIC" USE OF SONNET FORM.

We shall now see how Wordsworth made a 'romantic' use of this form. By this we do not simply mean that Wordsworth used this form for purposes in which it was not used before. That in itself, may be, in the case of this form, more often than not, a danger, for the form as also for the poet. What we mean is that Wordsworth made *successful* use of this form for purposes in which it was never before used; we also mean something more—we mean that these purposes were 'romantic,' 'out of the way.' Another qualification is necessary. These purposes were 'out of the way' in the sense, that, to the normal sonneteer, these would hardly suggest themselves as 'amenable' to sonnet treatment. We use the word 'amenable' not 'fit,' because the latter word would detract from the dignity of Wordsworth's 'romantic' purposes or subjects whereas the former gives us the sense of 'the out of the way.' Let us give examples. A man, devoid of all sense of humour, may bestow a full-blown sonnet on a railway ticket or soap-case, but these will not be considered 'fit' themes for the sonnet. But suppose a man wants to write out the church-history of England or a journal of his continental itinerary in the sonnet-form, the answer will be that the subjects or purposes are dignified no doubt, but they are hardly 'amenable' to sonnet treatment. But this is exactly what Wordsworth did, and did quite well or better than most of the sonnet-writers.

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[1] P. 209, Vol. III, *Wordsworth's Works*, Ed. W. Knight.

[2] English critics of the sonnet always give preference to the Miltonic Form over the Shakespearian Form for its greater concentration, its well-knit structure and a more exacting evolution of the sonnet-content.

But why do we say that these subjects are not amenable to sonnet-treatment?—The reason is this. The subjects are too vast, hence they have to be treated in a sonnet-series. Now a sonnet-series must have some sort of unity, the most obvious being the unity of mood. This is what we find in the many Elizabethan sonnet-series. Again, whereas in the Shakespearian series, we do not find any single pervasive mood, we attribute the unity to the personality of the poet, which is the 'theme' of the series—various facets of which gleam out, so to say, in particular sonnets. From both the standpoints, it may be observed, we are considering the sonnet-form as a lyrical form of poetry, and this is historically correct as far as it goes. The minor series of Wordsworth—the sonnets on Death or the River Duddon series, or the series called *Personal Talk*—have the simple unity of subject-matter and mood. Wordsworth himself was quite conscious of this type of serial unity. Of the sonnets composed in 1802—beginning with the tentative "I grieved for Buonaparte" (May 21, 1802) to "When I have Borne in Memory," etc. (September, 1802) a series, interrupted only once by two other poems written one after the other on May 29 and June 8—on different themes—Wordsworth writes to Lady Beaumont (Coleorton, May 21, 1807): "I would boldly say at once, that these sonnets, while they each fix the attention upon some important sentiment, separately considered, do, at the same time, collectively make a poem on the subject of civil liberty and national independence .... "

THE SHORT SONNET SERIES, A NEW FORM.

But it seems that once Wordsworth started writing a sonnet he could not help writing a series, thus working out an accumulated mass of feelings and experiences which seemed to demand expression in this form. So in October, 1803 he wrote the sonnet 'One might believe the natural miseries,' and at once started a series which ended with *Anticipation* (October, 1803), all written more or less on the subject of Napoleonic invasion. Here also we may note Wordsworth's fidelity to form. He would not unilise any other form to objectify what is the characteristic sonnet-content. Again, after writing the four sonnets entitled *Personal Talk*, he started another series beginning with *Admonition* (1806) and ending with *There is a Little Unpretending Rill* (1806)—interrupted only twice. Another series is written on the Swiss and Spanish Wars in 1809-10. Another series or group occurs in 1815 and another in 1816 on the last phases of the Napoleonic Wars. The River Duddon series occurs in 1820, and *His Memorials of a Tour on the Continent* (1821) begins with a sonnet-series and ends with a group. Then in 1821-22 comes *the Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, the most interesting series from our standpoint. There is another very fine series of twenty sonnets in 1827. Another series occurs in *Yarrow Revisited and Other Poems* (1834). A series of ten sonnets introduces "Poems composed or suggested during a Tour in the Summer of 1833," and there are two other groups in it. A series of seven sonnets entitled "*Sonnets*" was composed in 1835. There are four distinct 'groups' in *Memorials of a Tour of Italy* (1837), one of thirteen sonnets. Then follows *Sonnets upon the Punishment of Death* (1834), a series of fourteen sonnets. In 1842, a group of eight sonnets called 'Miscellaneous Sonnets' was written. As a matter of fact an isolated sonnet is very seldom to be found in Wordsworth, there are either groups of three or more or an inter-connected series.

'ROMANTIC' USE OF SONNET SERIES IN A DOUBLE SENSE.

Thus Wordsworth made a 'romantic' use of the sonnet-form in a double sense. For one thing he used the sonnet-series—short or long (series of 4 sonnets to that of 132 sonnets)—as a 'form' of expression: individually they meant something, but, almost always, "collectively," to use Wordsworth's term, they always meant something very important. Wordsworth required the spaciousness, variety and play of an entire series to express the variety and play of an inner experience or intuition. This is a 'romantic' use of the sonnet-form not made or thought of before. No other poet in England ever wrote more than one or two series. To them a series was either a conventional mode—some successful (Shakespeare), others not (Sidney, Spenser)—to be followed, or just a disconnected group of isolated sonnets put together. It should be noted that critics like Crosland simply laugh at the idea of sonnet-series which they consider a contradiction in terms, a sonnet being a whole. But Wordsworth's practice corrects this notion. One thing is remarkable. Wordsworth's sonnets, when occuring in a series—as they almost always do—are lighter, and the sonnet-ending is never telling and conclusive: for example, the sestet in the Ecclesiastical Sonnets is usually c d e c e d. Now the final word which rhymes with a distant word (at the end of the second line of the sestet) cannot have the force of the telling close of a Shakespearian couplet-ending. Again, Wordsworth does not care to observe the distinction of octet and sestet—more often than Milton's his octets run into the sestets with the result that in a series the sonnet-form reads like a stanza. One may say, this is exactly what a sonnet should not do, but the English Sonnet does it quite frequently.

In another sense Wordsworth made a 'romantic' use of the sonnet, *i.e*, by using the sonnet-series in a purely objective manner. The lyricism of the Ecclesiastical Sonnets—Wordsworth's most ambitious sonnet-series—is fitful and uncertain. The sonnet-form is used for a church *narrative*, a thing unthinkable to the Elizabethans or to Milton. Romanticism was always breaking new groups. Here is an example.

It is idle to ask if Wordsworth had succeeded. Though we do not hold with the enthusiastic admirers of this sonnet-series—and there are prominent examples even in India—we believe that in the mere matter of poetic logic, of 'intellectual' form or planning, this series deserves a high place. Apart from the fact that certain sonnets are remarkably beautiful all the sonnets are readable and significant as parts of a whole. What the critics of the Ecclesiastical Sonnets do is mere picking up of holes here and there—it is very seldom that they try to understand the series as a whole as Wordsworth undoubtedly meant it to be understood.

This is one of the unfailing charms of romantic technique that it strives to achieve what apparently is not achievable. A sonnet-series, so short and light, forming a lyrical group, is not logical; certain people might shirk all discussion by calling it a 'failure.' Others would call it a new form without perhaps fully understanding it. To us, it is indisputably 'romantic' like the blending of painting and poetry, or prose and verse.

INFLUENCE OF SONNET FORMS AND SPENSERIAN STANZA.

Wordsworth also experimented with the sonnet-form in another way. There is a remarkable example of Wordsworth's experiment with a stanza-form of eight-lined variety, *viz.*, the form of *A Farewell.*[1] The curious thing about this form is the influence on it of the sonnet-form as also of the Spenserian Stanza. The poem is a sonnet octet of a mixed kind. There are five Iambic feet in each line and alternate rhyming as in Shakespearian Sonnet (which Wordsworth never used after his first schoolboy effort, and this alternate rhyming is never found in the Petrarchan Form, Wordsworth's favourite), but there is no difference between the first and the second quatrain—the same rhyme-words being repeated—a thing which is never to be found in the Shakespearian Sonnet where the three quatrains are each built up on a separate rhyme-pattern (a b a b, c d c d, e f e f)[2] but is always found in the Petrarchan Form. But there is another curious feature in Wordsworth's form, that is the rhyme-bridge in the fourth and fifth lines. In the orthodox Petrarchan Sonnet the fourth and fifth lines invariably rhyme but almost invariably there is no pause at the end of the fifth line, because a sense-pause there would spoil the unity of the second quatrain altogether. But one of the beauties of the Spenserian

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[1] "Our boat is safely anchored by the shore, a
And there will safely ride when we are gone; b
The flowering shrubs that deck our humble door a
Will prosper, though untended and alone: b
Fields, goods, and far-off chattels we have none: b
These narrow bounds contain our private store a
Of things earth makes, and sun doth shine upon; b
Here are they in our sight—we have no more." a

[2] In rare cases do we find experiments with this form, as in Drummond's sonnet beginning with "My lute, be as thou wert, etc." (a b b a, b a b a, c d d c). But nowhere do we find an example similar to Wordsworth's.

Stanza is this sense-pause at the end of the fifth line. In *A Farewell*, out of eight stanzas, four have full sense-pause, and three have a slight pause at the end of the fifth line, and even a slight pause at the end of the fifth line (like a comma) is unusual in the Petrarchan octet.

What happened—as far as we can see—was this. The two months, May and June, 1802, were a period of intense experimentation for Wordsworth. On May 3 he began *Resolution and Independence*—a formal curiosity in which we discern the influence of Spenser—and on May 9 he wrote a few Spenserian Stanzas entitled *Stanzas written in my Pocket Copy of Thomson's Castle of Indolence.* Thomson's influence is clearly noticed in the matter and style of the poem.[1] On May 21, 1802, Wordsworth wrote the Petrarchan or Miltonic Sonnet. *I Grieved For Buonaparte* after listening to his sister's reading of the Sonnets of Milton. This sonnet and two others (one "was never written down," and the other he could not "particularise," when he dictated his 'Notes' to Miss Fenwick, in which there is an error in date) were "the first," as Wordsworth says, "I ever wrote, except an irregular one at School." So, these three great poetic forms, the Spenserian Stanza, the Miltonic Sonnet (which is really a slightly modified form of the Petrarchan Sonnet) and the Shakespearian Sonnet (naturally recollected in this connection), were in his mind when he wrote *A Farewell* on May 29.[2] And in that poem the pattern used has resemblance with all these three forms! Up to the fifth line it is Spenserian, the rhyming in both the quatrains is alternate as in Shakespearian Form, but, it is the same as in Petrarchan Form. It is significant that immediately after this, for some time Wordsworth wrote sonnets in the Miltonic Form only.

The eight-lined stanza in which *Stanzas composed in the Simplon Pass* is written, is nothing but a Shakespearian octet, written in trisyllabic feet—

> Vallombroso! I longed in thy shadiest wood
> To slumber, reclined on the moss-covered floor,

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[1] Dorothy Wordsworth writes in her Journal (9th May 1802)—"After tea he (Wordsworth) wrote two stanzas in the manner of Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*, and was tired out." T. Hutchinson wrote in *The Atheneum* (Dec. 14, 1894), "I take it for granted that these lines were written not only on the fly-leaf of Wordsworth's copy of the *Castle of Indolence*, but also by way of Supplement to that Poem, *i.e.*, as an *addendum* to the descriptive list of the denizens of the Castle given in stanzes LVII-LXIX of Canto I .... "

[2] No other poem was written during the interval.

To listen to Anid's precipitous flood,
When the stillness of evening hath deepened its roar ;
To range through the Temple of Paestum, to muse
In Pompii preserved by her burial in earth ;
Or pictured to gaze where they drank in their hues
And murmur sweet songs on the ground of their birth·

Again the form of " Once I could Hail (How e'er Serene the Sky)" (1826) is a typical Shakespearian Sestet, an elegiac quatrain and a couplet

Once I could hail (howe'er serene the sky)
The Moon re-entering her monthly round,
No faculty yet given me to espy
The dusky shape within her arms inbound,
That thin moments of effulgence lost
Which some have named her Predecessor's ghost.

This rhyme-plan is quite common in 17th and 18th century lyrics, but it is found with lines of four dissyllabic feet, and never found with lines of five dissyllabic feet. One of the rare examples is Francis Quarles's "*A Divine Rupture,*" where, however, the five-foot scheme is constantly breaking down in the ebb and flow of the poet's thoughts and emotions—

E'en so we met ; and after long pursuit,
    E'en so we joined ; we both became entire ;
No need for either to renew a suit,
    For I was flax, and He was flames of fire ;
Our firm-united soul did more than twine ;
    So I my Best-beloved's am ; so He is mine.

The Alexandrine at the end produces an impression very different from that produced by Wordsworth's stanza.

DR. MARIA MONTESSORI AND CHILD-CENTRIC EDUCATION.

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THE beginning of the present century saw a period of considerable change in educational theories, ideals and methods. The schools have hitherto followed the traditional system of class-teaching. Our method of instruction was up to this time based on the wrong assumption that the children of each class can progress at the same rate in all subjects. The curriculum and syllabus were the same for all. We used to lay an undue emphasis on the teacher and attached sole importance to the subject-matter. The child was kept in the background.

Moreover, the teacher's function consisted not in *educating* children but rather in *instructing* them. This was only to stuff and load their minds with a fund of useful information. The teacher's work was only to see that the pupils covered the syllabus whether they wished to work or not, and whether they were interested or not. And the method of teaching was mainly expository. Variation in progress by any child was discouraged as preventing the orderly and uniform progress of the class. Individual care and attention were not possible. All would have to be cast in the same mould.

But the New Teaching which is said to have psychologised education is characterised by Paido-centricism (with child as the centre of educational system). We have now realised that in the matter of child-education, child itself is the most important factor and is required to be carefully studied by the teacher. This child-centric turn which is regarded as the main feature of present-day education is not, strictly speaking, an entirely new thing so far as the inception of the idea is concerned. It may be traced as far back in the history of education as the time of Socrates and Plato, if not earlier. In Plato we come across educational theories which are not far different from the modern view of the scientific pedagogy and which uphold the principle of the liberty of child as leading to an all-round development of the individual and spontaneous manifestations of its nature.

Later on in the 17th century, Comenius the distinguished Italian educationist preached the same doctrine as Socrates and Plato when he likened the process of education to 'gardening.' "Education," said Comenius, "is child-gardening. It should come to children as swimming to fish, flying to birds and running to animals." Aristotle also said similar things long ago—"The desire of knowledge is implanted in man, the mind grows as the body does—by taking proper nourishment, not by being stretched on the rack." Here he really advocated the cause of the modern educationist even in those dark days while maintaining that education must be a natural process.

Then the 18th century saw in Rousseau the very essence of modern developments in education, when the great philosopher and educationist allowed 'Emile' a free scope to his natural instincts and inclinations being fully displayed. Rousseau maintained that education is a development from within and not an accretion from without and as such should never be thrust from outside. He propounded his doctrine of punishment by 'natural consequences' and also established his peculiar theory of "negative education." Rousseau may be regarded as the real forerunner of the 'Sense-training' school of educationists who figure so prominently in the present century, though Comenius had already hinted the principle to some extent in his educational theories.

All these educators and philosophers had borne the torch of light long enough: yet our educational institutions in the 19th century were still moving in those old grooves of artificial and irrational pedagogy which cramped and crippled them in the dark days of the middle ages. But a deep sense of dissatisfaction was long smouldering under the apparently undisturbed surface of the disc.

The early years of the 20th century saw the fire burst forth and the re-action against the old system of education took a definite shape in Dr. Montessori's system in Italy. The Doctor established in 1907 her "Children's House" (Casa dei Bambini) in Rome, which is said to have tolled the 'Knell of class-teaching.' This luminary in the firmament of education was born in 1870 and is still living to enjoy the honour and reproach of a pioneer in the field of education. In order to appreciate fully the contributions of Dr. Montessori to the cause of child education we must have a clear idea of what educational practice meant in those days of unrest which marked the dawning of the present century. Although people had lost their faith in the old system of education, yet the educational institutions bore every mark of antiquity and Goldsmith's Village Schoolmaster with his " words of learned length " and thundering sound was still reigning supreme with his rod which he could not spare lest the child should be spoilt and—

> " Full well the boding tremblers learnt to trace
> The day's disaster from his morning face."

All that people cared to demand of a teacher was if " he could gauge and cipher too " and could maintain the discipline of the rod. Dr. Montessori herself in describing the merits of her "Children's Houses" has given a real picture of the 'old-time teacher' whom she has displaced. " In the 'Children's Houses' she remarks, " the old-time teacher who wore herself out in maintaining the discipline of immobility and who wasted her breath in loud and continual discourses has disappeared."

Let us see just for a moment what she has been able to substitute for the teacher and we shall have a direct look at the principle of pedagogy she has in view. To quote her own words:—

"We have substituted the didactic material which contains within itself the control of error and which makes auto-education possible to each child. The teacher has thus become a Directress of the spontaneous work of the children. She is not a passive force—a mere silent presence."

So much about the teacher. Add to this her view of the child and we have a complete philosophy of Dr. Montessori's educational methods. The children are occupied each one in a different way ; the Directress watching them can make psychological observations, which if collected in an orderly way and according to scientific standards, should do much toward the reconstruction of Child Psychology and the development of Experimental Psychology.

Here we are confronted with the basic principle of Dr. Montessori's educational theory. She advocates the liberty of the pupil and maintains that education must be individual. The class may be maintained only as a unit of organization but as a teaching unit it is dead and Dr. Montessori has probably tolled the knell. The disease that brought about its death has spread all over the country.

It is easy to see that Dr. Montessori has practically revolutionized the whole trend of education. In the old order of things the liberty of the pupil was not only unthought of but really taken to be frightening in its consequences. Would the pupils be allowed to do whatever they liked in their noisy manner and that in the presence of the venerable teacher who has strength enough in his arms to lash them down to silence ? The very idea is repugnant to the ' old-time teacher who would rather leave his occupation than submit to such ignominy. But rather than amusing ourselves with the scowls of the "old schoolmaster" who frets ' to find his occupation gone,' let us hear the good apostle of child-emancipation. Dr. Montessori writes: "We do not know the consequences of suffocating a spontaneous action all the time when the child is just beginning to be active: perhaps we suffocate life itself. Humanity shows itself in all its intellectual splendour during this tender age, as the sun itself at dawn and the flower at the first unfolding of the petals."

We must respect, therefore, these first indications of individuality religiously and reverently. If any educative act is to be efficacious, it would be only that which tends to help toward the complete unfolding of this life. In order that education may be thus helpful it is necessary rigorously to avoid the arrest of spontaneous movements and the impositions of arbitrary tasks.

The traditional teacher, on the contrary, demands, in an angry mood, discipline which he has so long maintained by virtue of his rod. He cannot bear the sight of indisciplined children which the new method of the Doctor will, in their opinion, certainly produce.

Montessori, on the other hand, holds that discipline must come through liberty which has for its essential mark ' activity.' *Freedom first, freedom second, and freedom last*—this is the watchword of Montessori method. This freedom, however, is not to be taken to mean absolute license but it involves, on the contrary, some sort of creative work on the part of the pupils. The old conception of discipline was negative—it was rather a coercion to ' immobility ' ! But real discipline does not aim at reducing boys to ' immobility in the class-rooms like ' rows of butterflies transfixed with a pin.' Such children are not actually disciplined but annihilated. An individual is disciplined only when he is a master of himself and can, therefore, regulate his own conduct and not merely when he has been rendered as artificially silent as a mute and as immobile as a paralytic.

Discipline, in the positive sense of the term, is the result of the gradual building up of the habits of self-control and self-direction and this will be accepted by the pupil and carried out not because imposed from above but because of his recognition of its necessity and value. There should be no external restraint, no fixed routine work or absolute rigidity as in our traditional class-teaching. There is not even a fixed time-table in the school. Children will work according to their own rate, will progress according to their own speed and engage themselves according to their sweet will. And this discipline to which the child habituates himself here is, in its character, not only limited to school-environment but extends to society at large.

While upholding the cause of the liberty of the child for the complete unfolding of life, Dr. Montessori is not blind to the offending and annoying propensities in some children. The liberty of the child, according to her opinion, should have as its limit the collective interest and should have as its form what we universally consider good breeding. We must, therefore, check in the child whatever offends or annoys others, or whatever tends toward rough or ill-bred acts. The very first idea that the child must acquire, in order to be actively disciplined is the difference between good and evil: and the task of the educator, as she says, lies in seeing that the child does not confound 'good' with 'immobility' and evil with activity, as happens in the case of the old-time conception of discipline. Our aim is to attain discipline for activity, for good—and not for immobility, passivity and unquestioning obedience.

The psychologists have emphasised the extreme importance of the instinctive impulses of the child in education. The instincts are the raw materials of character and the prime movers of action ; and any attempt at thwarting them is not only futile but dangerous in its consequences. It is the considered opinion of the experts that in the early stages of intellectual education, appeal must be made through instincts. We must make a start by utilizing the motives that are there. A child is a bundle of innate instincts which are not fully developed at birth but each appears inevitably at its proper time. Dr. Montessori maintains that the work of the educator lies in the observation and guidance of these instincts when they really make their appearance. In matters of conduct an appeal to the moral sense which is naturally absent in child, is quite useless. The best way to make a child abandon an instinctive activity is to substitute another for it and this may be described in psychological term as the channelling or sublimating of the instincts.

Again, Dr. Montessori holds that each individual is the unit in the process of education and as we have said already, the class as a teaching unit should be dispensed with. There is of course, a psychological background in her favour and she fully recognises the doctrine of individual differences which make it impossible for the rational educator to group his pupils indiscriminately, as is often done in our schools, in classes.

We can by no means disagree with the fact that each individual pupil must pursue the path of learning for himself, receiving only such aid from the teacher as is suited to his individual requirements. But this view should not be carried to the extreme as is done by some Montessorians ; for it will lead to such misconception of the method as will defeat its own purpose. In our hurry to dismiss the idea of grouping our children into classes we must not lose sight of the gregarious and similar instincts in them. Indeed the instincts of self-assertion and self-abasement have no meaning, if individuals are dealt with separately. Thus we find that any very rigid adherence to individual instruction will lead to the thwarting of some important instincts in child and may, according to Montessori herself, ' suffocate life itself.' Hence the eminent educationists have opined that in the subjects which involve emotional elements and demand inspirational treatment, collective teaching has a definite advantage over individual teaching. The true perspective, indeed, lies in the balancing of the two poles of instruction, individual and collective. The class-teacher is advised to disintegrate his class as often as possible in order to give full scope to individual activity ; but he must as well integrate it from time to time in order to reap its advantage in the line indicated above.

The chief contribution of Dr. Montessori to the pedagogical advancement of the present times is her tendency towards the application of the scientific methods of observation and experiment in regard to educational problems. She is a sympathetic observer of child-nature, a dispassionate and ardent reformer and a practical teacher. She has demonstrated in her " Children's Houses " a great aesthetic skill in the arrangement of ' Didactic materials,' and her intelligent manipulation of the pupils' natural instincts speaks of a high order of ingenuity in her profession. She advocated the importance of sense-training in the early years of childhood and maintains that the external world enters into the mind through the gateways of senses. To this end she has devised in her ' case dei Bambini ' the didactic apparatuses which include wooden cylinders of varying dimensions, musical bells, coloured dolls, wooden staircases and platforms and various other things for the drilling of the different senses. The Doctor is so much incensed with the old-time conception of discipline of immobility that she has provided in her class-rooms flexible benches and desks, light and easily movable. Montessori teachers, again, are not strictly speaking 'teachers' but are called Directresses just as Froebelian instructors are termed benevolent Superintendents. Montessori would claim this to an advantage of her system of education from the practical point of view. She writes: "From the practical side of the school we have with our methods the advantage of being able to teach in one room children of different ages..........As to teacher, she may remain for a whole day among children in the most varying stages of development just as the mother remains in the house with children of all ages without being tired." The Montessorians hold that a Directress with the help of a young attendant to look after the bodily needs of the children might be reasonably held responsible for the activities of as many as forty-five children.

The main characteristics of Montessori's lessons are their brevity, simplicity and objectivity and that they are all individual in character. In giving such lessons Montessori has indicated the method of 'observation' in which is included the liberty of the child, as the fundamental guide. It is interesting for the modern teacher to note in this connection the Doctor's warnings to him with her psychological analysis of 'mistake.' The teacher must be warned of two things: first, not to insist by repeating the lesson, and second, not to make the child feel that he has made a mistake. The educator must, to the greatest possible extent, limit his intervention: yet he must not allow the child to weary himself out in an undue effort at *Auto-education.* If the child makes a mistake the teacher must not correct him, but must suspend her lesson, to take it up again another day. When the child has failed, we should know that he was not at that instant ready for that psychic association which we wish to provide him with and we must therefore, choose another moment.

While rightly recognising the importance of Sense-training in early childhood, Montessori is, however, too sweeping in her condemnation of fairy-tales. She has her stand on the psycho-analytic doctrine that the fantasies are to be regarded as compensations for repressed tendencies and that they tend to be regressive in nature.

But our children can profitably be allowed to have a reasonable measure of fantastic imagination for which they have a particular fascination in their immature days. They however, soon learn to keep their worlds of fact and fantasy apart from each other, proving the unsound character of Montessori's fears. We had rather turn to the arguments of Rusk that the proper defence of fairy tales is that they form part of the literary heritage of people and as such ought to be known ; and it may be that the early years of childhood, when the contradictions between the happenings of a fairy realm and those of a causally conceived world do not press heavily, may be the most suitable time for learning them.

In conclusion, we must remember that Dr. Montessori is a pioneer of reformation and has preached her gospel of freedom. It is for the later educationists to devise means for the realisation of the ideals. Miss Helen Parkhurst in her Dalton Laboratory plan has worked in the pioneer's line and has suited it to the requirements of advanced students. The Play-way in Education and the Project method are also built on the same foundation and can profitably be applied by the intelligent teacher for the advancement of his pupils of certain branches of study. Dr. Montessori has experimented with tiny children and has enlightened us with her experiences in regard to the methods that can be usefully applied for their education. But we have her gospel of freedom which is capable of being extended to all stages of student life.

We often speak of the failure of Montessori method and this method does not meet with its proper appreciation even in her own land Italy. But this fact does by no means detract from its intrinsic merits. No one can deny the utility of sense-training, observation and experiment in the matter of education and nobody can overlook the importance of joy, spontaneity, play-spirit and self-effort in the work of the pupils. Our failures are mostly due to our inability to sympathise and feel as much for the children as the Doctor does. It is a matter of common experience that the finer is the piece of work, the greater will be the necessity of delicate tools to perform it, and none but the most skilful workman can manage to handle such tools.

THE IDEA OF NOUMENON.

KALIDAS BHATTACHARYA, M.A.

(A) INTRODUCTION.

MODERN realism, in all its forms, is ultra-positivistic. It does not recognise any noumenal entity. To it noumenon is worse than antiquated; and metaphysics as its study is therefore either impossible or worthless. The present essay is an attempt to defend metaphysics against the positivistic onslaught. The main point in the essay is that noumenon must be recognised. Other problems connected with it will also be discussed.

Positivists uphold the scientific method in philosophy. To science reality means empirical facts only. So, philosophy also, these positivists believe, will recognise nothing but empirical facts. As Broad says, philosophy and science have the same data and presuppositions. The only distinction between them is in their aim. This distinction has been described in two ways:—

(1) Science studies empirical facts in sections or departmentally, philosophy studies them as a whole.

(2) Science assumes certain fundamental concepts like space, time, causality, substance, life, mind, matter, etc.; philosophy examines these concepts.

To begin with an examination of these two distinctions. The phrase 'studying empirical facts as a whole' is unintelligible. It may mean collecting and co-ordinating the results of sciences; or, it may mean, as Spencer and Alexander hold, studying empirical facts by means of a universal concept like cosmic evolution. Both these meanings however are untenable. It is not practically possible to collect and co-ordinate the conclusions of Sciences; as a matter of fact this task has never been undertaken. This is even theoretically impossible. For the conclusions of Biology cannot be in many cases reconciled with those of Physics. As for applying a universal concept like cosmic evolution, this is irrational. Evolution in the organic kingdom may be a fact; but cosmic evolution is only a romantic poetic concept. There is no evidence of such a large-scale evolution. The fate of any other universal concept is the same. Such concepts are but cobwebs of imagination.

To examine the fundamental concepts of science is an equally vain task. These fundamental concepts are only *postulates* of science. The attempt to examine them without any knowledge of the experiments and technicalities of sciences is an arrogant presumption.

Some realists distinguish philosophy and science in a different way. Their view is this:—*Metaphysically* there are only neutral entities which are neither real nor unreal—neither believed nor disbelieved. When we speak of empirical fact—when, in other words, we have belief or disbelief—these neutral entities are combined in one special way. Science studies neutral entities only as so combined. Philosophy studies them in all possible forms of combinations.

But this view is not more tenable. It may be true that empirical fact means neutral entities combined in a special way. But it is false that philosophy studies them in *all possible combinations*. Significant speech is always in the context of belief. Hence, *all possible combinations*, since they are neither believed nor disbelived, cannot be the subject-matter of philosophy. To study 'all possible combinations' may be an amusing intellectual gymnastics, and semi-mathematicians like Whitehead and Russell may be interested in them. But this is not truth-seeking, not an enquiry into reality.

Again, if neutral entities and their possible combinations are ever significantly spoken—as a matter of fact when they are spoken they are spoken significantly—they are believed, though not as empirical facts. But if they are believed as non-empirical, the positivistic point of view is thereby given up. Holt and the Russellians only dogmatise when they assert that belief is necessarily in empirical facts. If anything is spoken significantly it is believed, and if the thing spoken of is not an empirical fact, the belief in question is trans-empirical. Whether positivism is a true doctrine or not should be demonstrated. To stick to it in the face of contray implications is more dogmatic than believing in noumenon.

(B) NOUMENON ESTABLISHED.

So, positivistic ideas of philosophy fail. How then can we define philosophy? We say, science is the study of phenomenon, philosophy is the study of noumenon. But what is the evidence that there is noumenon? It is as follows:

Empirical fact is that which is perceivable as a matter of right. Science believes in nothing that may be intrinsically unperceivable. One criterion, then, of empirical facthood is this necessary perceivability. By perceivability is meant both actual and possible perceivedness. When we actually perceive a thing there is actual perceivedness. When we infer, there is possible perceivedness—we believe that the thing inferred can be perceived under suitable circumstances. Even atoms and ether are perceivable in this sense: if our senses were sufficiently developed and accurate we might perceive them. To science then there is no intrinisic unperceivability.[1]

But perceivability means a relation to the perceiver. Since, now, relata can remain independent of relations, the thing that is perceivable can remain independent of the relation of perceivability. In other words, the very moment we speak of an empirical fact we believe in something which *comes into* the relation of perceivalibity, and which, therefore, is intrinsically beyond this perceivability. This thing then which becomes perceivable, *i.e.*, an empirical fact, is not perceivable as a matter of right. If the empirical fact is called phenomenon, this thing that is beyond may be called noumenon.

An oft-presented Hegelian objection has to be faced here. Relata, it will be urged, can remain apart from relation *only when this relation is contingent*; where the relation is necessary there is no such divorce. Perceivability, the Hegelian would continue, is a necessary relation; the thing perceivable should not therefore be talked of as apart from this perceivability. This argument has actually been offered by Bradley; only he interprets perceivability idealistically, which science would scorn to do.

To this Hegelian objection we reply that even necessary relation does not mean inseparability of the relata from the relation. Necessary relation no doubt means that the relata and relation are *actually* inseparable. Still two things *believed as two* imply their *virtual*

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[1] The paramāṇu, like other non-sensible entities (atīndṛya padārthas) of the Naiyāika, is however intrinsically unperceivable, though it is said to be inferred. The reason of it is that there is no real *inference* in such cases—if they were inferred they would surely be perceivable. What here passes by the name of inference—the sāmānyatah anumānam is so disparate from other two types of inference of the Naiyāika that it should not preferably be regarded as of a kind with them. The sāmānyatah anumānam can be shown to be a case of *implication* and not of *inference*. The distinction between inference and implication will be pointed out later.

Separation.

separation. Mere distinction, as opposed to sepation, means nothing if it does not mean virtual separation. 'Actual,' as opposed to 'virtual' means 'as a matter of empirical fact.' Virtual separation means that the separateness, though not *actually* apprehended, is still real, and has therefore to be realised non-actually, *i.e.*, non-empirically. This meaning of mere distinction cannot be argued out. It is a point to be felt, and those who do not feel it can be convinced in no other way. The Hegelian distinguishment of mere distinction and actual separation is superficial. We believe that the distinguishment should go deeper; mere distinction, if it is believed, is virtual seperation, *i.e.*, a separation which has to be realised non-empirically.

But why assume a form of non-empirical realisation ?—It will be asked. We reply—We do not start with any dogma that the empirical alone is real. We are ready to accept any non-empirical, indeed any kind of mystical, entity, if it is necessarily suggested by the empirical. Mere distinction and actual separation are empirical facts. But mere distinction is unintelligible if it does not mean a true separation to be realised non-empirically.[1]

So, the very concept of empirical fact or phenomenon establishes noumenon. Reality is not merely phenomenal; it is noumenal also.

If perceivability be interpreted as spatio-temporality, what is said above is then practically the Kantian view of noumenon as the thing-in-itself. Spatio-temporality is indeed a necessary character of *empirical* objects. But metaphysically it is contingent—it does not really belong to object, if by object is meant that which is absolutely other than the subject. In other words, the absolutely independent object, the thing-in-itself, though it assumes spatio-temporality, need not assume it. The thing-in-itself is thus a noumenon.

(C) ANOTHER APPROACH TO NOUMENON.

There is another approach to noumenon. Empirical fact is not merely that which is perceivable. It involves, in addition, some necessary characters and relations. An illusory percept is still a percept though it is not a fact. When the rope-snake illusion is corrected the snake no doubt is regarded as a past percept; but nobody would call it an empirical fact. Empirical fact then requires something more than mere perceivability. That something more is possible permanance of the perceivable, its causal connection with some other perceivable, and thirdly, a possible interconnexion with all other perceivables.[1] These three characters are necessary. And the necessity is absolute, *not inductive, i.e.*, not derived from empirical facts themselves. It is thus trans-empirical. In other words, these necessary characters and relations, *as in themselves*, are noumenal entites.

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[1] The Naiyāika also believes that mere distincts (ayuta-siddhas) are quite as real as separates (yūta-siddhas). This is practically admitting our account of mere distinction.

There is a third view of mere distinction. Of two mere distincts one may be denied all definite reality. This is what is meant by the Bhātta concept of tādātmya or svarūpa. This view we do not propose to examine as it involves a difficult notion of indefinite reality. This view probably implies a different approach to noumenon.

A serious objection has again to be faced. It will be said that the necessity in question can very well be inductive. For scientific induction gives us absolute certainty. The Naiyāika Gangeśa defends this view of induction in two ways—

1. The very attempt to doubt or reject induction presupposes its validity. It is only because some inductions have failed that one doubts or rejects all induction—but this itself is an induction.

2. If induction be doubted or rejected there remains no logic in our behaviours. But except in the context of some behaviour the word 'reality' has no meaning. To the Naiyāika the satisfaction of desire (samarthapravṛttijanakatva) is the criterion of reality.

To examine the first defence. We reject the validity of induction not on the ground which Gangeśa mentions. We reject it on the simple ground that the passage from the momentary present to what is beyond this field of perception is unwarranted. In such leaps there is always the possibility of an 'otherwise.' This possibility is not empty. It is very significantly suggested by a peculiar class of general propositions in which there is no thought of an 'otherwise.' In some such propositions even the attempt is not made to think of an 'otherwise.' As examples we may put forth the axiom like "if equals are added to equals sums will be equal," or propositions like "two straight lines cannot enclose a space," "Every event must have a cause" etc. It isbecause there are these types of general propositions, the contraries of which are never believed,[2] that we hold the possibility of 'otherwise' in cases of inductions. The opposites of inductions, if they are not *actually* believable, can at least be imagined to be believed. In brief, inductions cannot be taken as absolutely valid, because there are undisputed examples of a superior validity.

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[1] This point has been elaborated in a more or less Kantian way in the essay "Some Aspects of Belief," published in the April issue of the Philosophical Quaterly, 1937.

[2] The contaries of some such propositions may perhaps be playfully imagined, but they are never believed.

The second defence of Gangeśa is equally unconvincing. It is true that if the validity of inductions be denied there will be a deadlock in our practical ongoings. But smoothness in practical life need not be the criterion of metaphysical reality. Satisfaction of desires (samarthāpravṛttijanakatva) may be the criterion of *empirical* reality. But if empirical reality itself implies a super-empirical, the reality of this super-empirical need not be based upon the validity of inductions.

It must be borne in mind that this super-empirical is not *inferred* from the empirical— the validity of inductions would then be *indirectly* the basis of it. The super-empirical is only *implied* by the empirical. The distinction between inference and implication is that whereas the inferred entity requires direct *empirical* realisation (it may be, under extraordinary circumstances, as in the case of atoms and ether), the implied entity may be realised *non-empirically*.

Barring considerations of śabda pramāṇa the Vedānta may be taken as holding our view of induction. Inductions may be regarded as giving vyavahārika satya, whereas it may be wholly futile as finding out the paramārtha satya.

So, it is established that noumenon is real. It is doubly implied. It is implied by the concept of empirical fact not merely as necessarily perceivable, but also as involving some necessary characters and relations like possible permanance, causality and inter-connexion.

(D) PHILOSOPHY (OF NOUMENON) IS POSSIBLE.

There is noumenal reality. But can it be known, so that philosophy as its study is possible ?

This question may appear paradoxical to many. Noumenon has been established, it is admitted as real,—this means that it is known. The question whether it is knowable or not is then meaningless.

We reply that the question is quite relevant. The following three paragraphs will make it clear :

Knowledge involves three factors—(*i*) belief, (*ii*) the belief being theoretical,[1] and (*iii*) actual or possible realisation of the thing (believed) in direct communion. This is not an arbitrary restriction of the term ' knowledge,' as Anglo-Hegelians think. It is a question of the ultimate analysis of what is meant by ' knowledge.' If there is no belief, no one will describe a consciousness as *knowledge*. If the belief is not theoretical, it is only practical belief as in moral precepts and their implications. If there is no direct communion—actual or possible—with the thing believed, we do not apply the name knowledge. When we perceive a thing there is actual direct communion. When we infer a thing there is possible direct communion; an inference amounts to knowledge only so far as we *expect* direct communion with the thing inferred, under suitable circumstances.

It now appears quite reasonable that some thinkers may doubt the knowability of noumenon. It may be held that noumenon, though it is believed, cannot be in any way directly apprehended; in other words, that there cannot be any direct communion with the believed noumenon. In that case it may be said that though it is believed it is not knowable. Kant holds this view. Kant says that noumenon is believed only as thought and not as known, thought being a theoretical form of indirect awareness. Some ultra-Kantians may go further and say that it is not even thought—it is only practically believed; and so on.

So the question whether noumenon is knowable or not is quite relevant. Those to whom the question appears parodoxical either do not believe in any noumenon (*cf.* the present day realists) or hold that mere thought is as good as knowledge (*cf.* Leibnitz and Hegel). An epistemology before metaphysics is clearly necessary.

To the question—' is noumenon knowable' there are different answers. H. Spencer and Kant hold that it is only thought,[2] not known.

We begin with the discussion of this view. What is the distinction between thought and knowledge ? According to Spencer thought is the awareness of the mere existence of a thing; knowledge, in addition to it, is the awareness of what it is. Knowledge then, according to Spencer, is more definite than mere thought.

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[1] ' Theoretical ' may be roughly understood as ' not practical.' When we believe in moral precepts, in freedom and other things as implied by them, our belief is practical. These entities are believed by us only as willing. Theoretical belief is one which is not practical in this sense. By ' philosophy ' in this essay we mean theoretical philosophy, not the practical philosophy of which Kant speaks.

[2] By ' thought ' is meant thinking belief, or, in plain language, correct thought.

This distinction however is not convincing. If noumenon has to be apprehended only as implied by phenomenon something more than mere existence is apprehended. This Hegelian objection is unanswerable.

Kant's distinction [1] is more formidable. Knowledge, according to him, means that form of theoretical belief which is direct, either actually or possibly; mere thought is that form which is intrinsically indirect. Mere thought means the awareness of a universal as a universal, *i.e.*, the awareness of similarity as similarity. But since the apprehension of a relation necessarily involves the apprehension of relata, the awareness of similarity as similarity involves the awareness of all similars. But again, since *all* similars cannot possibly be directly given to us the apprehension of them is necessarily indirect.[2] Thought thus is intrinsically indirect.

Knowledge, however, as opposed to mere thought, Kant goes on, is necessarily direct, either actually or possibly. As for mere thought, it is not even possibly direct. Now, since noumenon can never be perceived, but is only (indirectly) apprehended as an implication of phenomenon, the awareness of it must be indirect. In other words, noumenon is only thought; it cannot be known. This view that perception alone is direct and that thought can never be direct, and hence that the mere thought of noumenon can never amount to knowledge is called Criticism.

As opposed to this there is the view called Dogmatism. The dogmatist holds that even mere thought, if it is a form of belief, is knowledge. For, belief is a thing which is absolutely unintelligible if it does not mean some sort of directness. Hence noumenon, though it is only thought and not perceived, is still known. Mere thought, according to this view, has an intuition peculiar to itself, called intellectual intuition. This is most prominently the view of Leibnitz.

The Hegelian view of the relation between thought and knowledge need not be considered. Either it is in essence little different from Leibnitz's view, or it denies that knowledge requires to be a form of direct awareness. In the first case there is nothing new; in the second case it denies an immediate feeling as to the nature of knowledge, and hence is not worth consideration.

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[1] Kant has not made this distinction in so many clear words. What is told here in the name of Kant is what the Critique of Pure Reason *suggests*.

[2] *All* similars are clearly not remembered. Thought as an indirect form of theoretical belief is other than memory. The nature of thought has been elaborated in the article "Some Aspects of Belief," Phil., Quaterly, April, 1937.

As for Criticism and Dogmatism, they are both partly right and partly wrong. That noumenon cannot be perceived will be admitted by all. So far both Kant and Leibnitz are right. The ordinary apprehension of noumenon is, truly, thought-apprehension. As for the nature of thought, we have proved that it is necessarily indirect. Here Kant is right and Leibnitz is wrong. But then we go against Kant and hold with Leibnitz that belief is unintelligible if it does not mean some form of directness. Leibnitz however is mistaken in taking this directness to be realised by thought itself. Directness there must be; but thought is not itself direct. The directness that is implied is only problematical, *i.e.*, a form to be realised through a course of culture which culminates in the self-annihilation of thought and the emergence of a superior form of directness, which may be called mystic intuition. This mystic intuition is not the intellectual intuition of Leibnitz. Intellectual intuition is an accomplished form, mystic intuition is for us only problematic. If we prefer to apply Kant's language to a doctrine which is just not that of Kant we may say that while intellectual intuition, if at all it is real, *constitutes* thought, mystic intuition *regulates* it.

Noumenon thus is knowable, but only in a superior form of directness. This doctrine is opposed equally to Leibnitz, Kant and Hegel, and is held in one form by Bradley, in another form by the Vedānta. The distinction between these two forms is too popular a topic to be re-discussed here.

(E) THE NATURE OF PHILOSOPHY (OF NOUMENON).

If noumenon is knowable only by an extraordinary form of intuition, which we amateurs do not possess, is not metaphysics as the philosophy of noumenon a vain pursuit *for us*? This question, though most expected, can be answered away.

It is true that the full significance of metaphysics will not unfold itself so long as we are ordinary amateurs. Still, metaphysics is not a vain pursuit. We may accept the doctrines of a metaphysician on pious trust, and try to attain his superior intuition.

But different metaphysicians offer different doctrines. Spinoza speaks of noumenon as pure object; to Kant and the Sānkhya-Yoga there is pure subject in addition to pure object; Fichte cancels pure object and holds up pure subject as the only noumenal entity; Hegel *comprehends* both object and subject in the concept of the Absolute; the Vedāntist also speaks of the Absolute though it is not the comprehension of pure object and pure subject, it is rather the progressive cancellation of both; etc., etc. In the face of this diversity of doctrines what should *we* do?

The answer is this:—A metaphysician might be a seer. But still he will have to show how his noumenal entities are implied by phenomena. If he cannot do this he is only a poet. The very fact that the metaphysician can, rather, ought to, do this chalks out the program for amateurs. We cannot indeed intuit noumenon, but we can *understand* it by following up the implicational relations spoken of. We can judge whether this or that implication is correct. This judgment is conducted partly by immediate feeling and partly by empirical logic.[1] Having judged between rival implications we may follow up the correct one till we realise the ultimates in the superior form of intuition.

How we can follow up to realisation we do not know. Westerners, perhaps with the exception of Medieval philosophers, have spoken nothing about it. In Indian philosophy, on the other hand, we find the problem tackled by many. The most famous of them are the Yoga philosophers.

But different philosophers may offer different paths to realisation (sādhana). Which one are we to follow then ? The simple answer is— ' that one which your favourite philosopher prescribes, and your favourite philosopher is he whose implicational relations appear correct to you.

These considerations do not apply to one who is too original to *follow* any philosopher. He will find for himself his own course of sādhana.

(F) METAPHYSICS AND OTHER PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES.

Metaphysics (philosophy of noumenon) must not be confused with epistemology and logic, which also go by the general name

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[1] To find out whether ordinary empirical logic is adequate for this purpose is an interesting, though difficult task. The inadequacy of empirical logic and the validity of the logic of implications cannot be determined except perhaps from a trans-empirical point of view. In this respect it may be said that logic pre-supposes metaphysics.

'philosophy.' Epistemology and logic are but propedeutic to metaphysics. Epistemology discusses the following problems:—

(1) whether there is noumenon,
(2) whether it is knowable; and if so how, and
(3) whether knowledge of noumenon is of the same nature as or different from knowledge of phenomenon.

The first two problems are about the extent and validity of knowledge. The third is about its origin. Clearly none of them are problems of metaphysics proper.

As for logic, it only helps us to study phenomena either in themselves or as implying noumenon. In the first case it has nothing to do with philosophy; it is then only an instrument of science. In the second case, whatever be its ultimate certificate, it only helps to decide between rival implications, and is not itself metaphysics. There is a third type of logic called Formal Logic. Its status is peculiar. Apparently it is half-noumenal, half-phenomenal. Whether it is only a prolegomena to metaphysics, or is itself a part of it, we leave as a problem to better thinkers.

MODERN APPROACH TO SHAKESPERE

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IT is well known to all students that there never has been a time in history when Shakespere was totally neglected. Throughout the 17th century, although Ben Jonson and Beaumont and Fletcher were very much in request, Shakespere's plays were also adapted to suit the changed condition of the Restoration stage. It was in the 18th century that the real study of Shakespeare began and it became deeper and more intense as the years rolled on, till by the end of the 19th century, after all what Malone, Furnivall and the great German scholars had done, it appeared that nothing more could be said about him. But as the 20th century opened, a new start was made and the result so far has been simply brilliant and spectacular. It is not that the scholars of the present century were the first to hit upon this new approach to Shakespere, *viz.*, the bibliographical approach, some previous editors had already visualised the problem. Malone more than anybody else had realised its importance, but none of them bestowed upon it the attention it deserves. It remained for scholars like Dr. Grey and Dr. Pollard to examine the matter thoroughly, with the consequence that a new light has been thrown on the whole subject-matter and Shakespere appears to be much nearer to us than he used to be before.

Almost all the editors and scholars of Shakespere had, until a few years ago, accepted the Folio edition of 1623 as the best text of the dramatist and as near to the original as one can expect it to be in the circumstances. This view was mainly based on a misinterpretation of the prefatory address to the ' Great Variety of Readers ' by Heminge and Condell or somebody else who wrote for them in the Folio of 1623. It is worth while quoting it in full:—

" It had been a thing, we confess, worthy to have been wished, that the author himself had lived to have set forth, and overseen his own writings ; but since it hath been ordained otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you do not envy his Friends, the office of their care, and pain, to have collected and published them ; and so to have published them, as where (before) you were abused with diverse, stolen, and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed, by the frauds and stealths of injurious impostors, that exposed them: even these are now offered to your view cured and perfect of their limbs ; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceived them. Who, as he was a happy imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together: And what he thought, he uttered with that easiness, that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers."

This passage was interpreted as a complete denunciation of all the plays in Quartos that had appeared before the Folio of 1623: They all were taken to be " stolen and surreptitious ' ' maimed and deformed,' although the editors had said ' diverse,' meaning ' some ' and not all. But a close scrutiny of the First Quartos and of the Stationer's Register and the condition of printing and the laws that governed it have revealed facts which, to say the least, have revolutionised the entire attitude of the scholars towards the text. It has been fairly convincingly proved that First Folio is not the ultimate source from which to draw the real text. We have got to get back to the original text, and then read the characters afresh and revise our estimate of the artist himself. Dr. Dover Wilson in his edition of Hamlet wrote,—" The establishment of the text comes first, then the interpretation of the dialogue, then the elucidation of the plot and only after all these matters have been settled are we in a position to estimate character."

With true passion for research, Dr. Pollard did not follow the crowd, but he explored all the Quartos himself and discovered to his amazement that all the Quartos were not corrupt, rather most of them were good. Out of 19, only 4 were bad, while the other 15 were genuine, the texts of some of them being superior to those even of the First Folio. He demonstrated this fact so clearly that the terms ' good Quartos ' and ' bad Quartos ' have come to be recognised by scholars as canons of literary criticism. Let us take for illustration Hamlet as it appeared in the bad Quarto of 1603 and compare it with the ' good ' Quarto of 1604.

1603

Horatio—In what *particular* to worke, I know not,
But in the *thought and scope* of my opinion,
This bodes some strange eruption to *the* state.

1604

Horatio—In what *particular thought*, to work I know not,
But in the *gross and scope* of mine opinion,
This bodes some strange eruption to *our* state.

Further down, the line arrangements and the speeches of Horatio are very much corrupt in the earlier edition. King Lear in the good Quarto of 1608 is evidently better than the one in Folio of 1623. For instance, the Quarto writes : " Sure I shall never marry like my sisters *to love my father all.*" " To love my father all " has been omitted in the Folio and this certainly very much weakens the effect.

This conclusion that all the Quartos were not maimed and stolen was further corroborated by the entries in the Stationers' Register. The stationers' company was formed, out of two earlier ones, in 1404 and a charter was granted to them giving them exclusive rights of printing in London and other parts of England, except Oxford and Cambridge. It was also laid down that the company should maintain a register in which the books for printing could be entered on payment of 6*d*. and thereby the person to whom the book was entered, secured full copyright over it even against the rightful owner or the author. Dr. Grey writing in The Library has shown how Abel Jeffes got a bad Quarto of the Spanish Tragedy entered to himself on Oct. 6, 1592, and succeeded in inducing the stationers' company to confiscate a good text printed by Edward White, so that White could use his rights in the text only by engaging Jeffes to print it for him. It appears from the Stationers' Register that of all the plays, only four, *viz.*, Romeo and Juliet of 1597, Henry V of 1600, The Merry Wives of 1602 and Hamlet of 1603 were either not entered or irregularly entered in the register. This shows that there must have been something wrong with them, and there is little wonder that the texts of these are corrupt and have secured for them the name of ' Bad Quartos.

Were they stolen and surreptitious ? Heywood in a prologue written in 1632 for a revival of his " If you know not me you know nobody " published in 1605 asserts—

" Some by stenography drew
The plot ; put it in print ; (Scarce one word true)

On the basis of this some scholars have thought that some plays were surely pirated by shorthand writers and hence the corruption of the text. Another theory is that when a company of players got stranded in the provinces and wanted a new play, having exhausted their repertory, they reconstructed from memory some play which they had acted before and when they came to London, they sold their texts to some unscrupulous printers or publishers.

However, we are concerned here not with the ' Bad Quartos ' but with the ' good ' ones. Were the good ones also pirated ? It seems inconceivable that Shakespere's company or even Shakespere should have allowed 15 of their plays to be pirated within 13 years and they should not have taken any step to prevent this depredation. Is it possible that they thought themselves absolutely helpless against the pirates even with the help of a patron like Lord Chamberlain. Is it that they did not like to spend 6*d.* and thus save themselves from recurring loss ? All the evidence points to the contrary. Shakespere and his company knew their business very well. When the Bad Quartos of Hamlet and Romeo and Juliet were put on the market and as they were not entered in the Stationers' Register, it is very likely that the good texts which appeared a few years later were released with the consent of the owners and not by stealth. There is also evidence that a play could be entered, but its printing postponed, ' till further and better authority was forthcoming.' Such was the case with The Merchant of Venice which was entered on 27th July, 1598, " provided it be not printed without license first had from the Lord Chamberlain." Four other plays, *viz.*, As You Like It, Henry V, Every Man in His Humour, and Much Ado About Nothing were stayed. The reason suggested for this is that if these plays were printed during their run, they might have been prejudicial to the company. But they apprehended piracy as well. So they got them entered with the necessary proviso and put themselves on the safe side.

If such safeguards were possible, it seems incredible that the good Quartos should have been pirated. The evidence rather tends to show that these were obtained with the consent of the company who wanted to put them on the market in order to make money out of them.

Supposing now that the good Quartos were not obtained by fraud or stealth, what sort of texts they were ? Were they mere transcription in scrivner's handwriting ? Or were they autograph

MSS. of the author himself ? This leads us to the question of payment to the authors. If they had been paid handsomely for their products there might have been some chance of their engaging a scribe to copy out their writings before they were delivered to the company. But there is overwhelming evidence to show that the authors were generally poor and were paid badly. From Henslow's Diary one gathers how authors like Munday, Chettle and others were paid very niggardly, very often by instalment and some of them were so impecunious that they used to borrow even 6*d*. or a shilling from the manager. Daborne in a letter to Henslow says that he is his own copyist and as he was too busy he could not deliver the play in time. It therefore seems improbable that Shakespere who was then a mere common playwright should have engaged a copyist to do the writing for him. Moreover this method would have enhanced the danger of piracy, for the copyist instead of making one copy could have easily made two.

In later years when censorship came into force, it was customary that the author should present his autograph MSS. to the censor who, in his turn, would pass it with appropriate remarks ; and this MSS. copy was used as a prompt-book. Several such prompt-books, *e.g.* Messenger's Believe As You List, Mountford's The Seaman's Honest Wife are still preserved in the British Museum. It is therefore not unlikely that Shakespere also had done the same thing, and when time came that a text should be handed over to the printer, it was this prompt-book, considered to be the best, was given to him.

This is further borne out by the testimony of Heminge and Condell, his fellow actors, who declared that they scarce received a blot in his papers. If they had seen only a Scrivener's fair copy, there was no point in making that assertion. It appears that they must have seen his autograph MSS. as he delivered them to the company and hence their eulogy. That being the case, it is very probable that good Quartos were printed from Shakespere's autograph MSS.

Now if we examine the good Quartos and the plays which appeared for the first time in the Folio and discover in them traces of a prompt-book, we shall be treading on surer ground. When a play would pass into a prompter's hand (the prompter being either the author himself or somebody else) he would naturally mark the exits and entrances, he would also note in the margin the provision for stage properties, such as shouts, knocks, etc. He may also sometimes substitute the name of the actor for the character he is playing. In the Quarto of A Midsummer Night's Dream, we find the prompter's reminder to Demetrius 'Ly down.' Similarly in Much Ado About Nothing, we find the names of actors Kemp and Cowley substituted for the characters they had to play. In the plays first printed in the Folio we find stage direction suggestive of the prompter's note. In II Henry VI " Bed put forth " reveals the Elizabethan stage management when a bed was probably thrust forth with Gloucester's body on it, unlike the direction in modern edition " Exit Warwick " and " Re-enter Warwick and others bearing Gloucester's body on a bed." It seems therefore fairly certain that the prompt-copy of most of Shakespere's plays were written in the author's own autograph.

This brings us to the most fascinating question for any student of Shakespere. Is there any Shakespere autograph by which this probability may be tested ? A few of his signatures are known to have existed—some of them may be seen in the British Museum. I had the good fortune of seeing them and I really felt very much excited to think that the hand which wrote those simple words—not even complete William, but only W^{m}. and Shak^{s}pe^{a}, the last letters almost omitted, could write those wonderful plays. Facsimiles of Records of a suit in a Court of Requests in which Shakespere was the principal witness may still be seen in the MSS. Saloon. Stephen Belott sued Christopher Mountjoy, his father-in-law for unsettled dower. The marriage of Bellott and Mary Mountjoy had been effected in 1604 through the mediation of Shakespere who lodged with the Mountjoys in Cripplegate. His evidence was therefore of great importance and constant reference is made by the other deponents to conversations with him. His handwriting is preserved in his deposition recorded in two hands. His other signature is found in the original deed of mortgage of a house in Blackfriars by W. Shakespere of Stratford, a gentleman and others to Henry Walker, Citizen of London, dated 11 March, 1612. There are four seals affixed to it, the first of which bears his signature.

But mere signatures are not of much good for literary purposes. They may be literary curiosities, but they do not solve any literary problems. Luckily a MSS. play called the play of Sir Thomas More has been discovered. It is in the Harleian collection at the British Museum. This has been very carefully edited in 1911 by Dr. Greg for Malone Society and he found that it was written in five different hands, one of which he suggested might be Shakespere's. There are three pages of a Crowd Scene in it. Sir Thompson's contention was that from the ' general impression ' which by the way, is a recognised paleographical process, and from the use of certain letters both in the signatures and the play, the handwriting was Shakespere's. Dr. Greg accepted his view on negative grounds, *i.e.*, to say, the handwriting was not written by any other Elizebethan dramatist whose hand is well known. Dr. Dover Wilson strengthened the argument by showing that the handwriting of the three pages helped to explain the misprints in the Quartos and the Folio, while he also worked out a similar argument on spelling. The authors who had not received any training at the university generally spelt their words in an uncouth and archaic way. But the printers tried to simplify and naturalise them. Wilson's theory has been tested by application to the few cases where an author's manuscript is available for comparison. His success in finding in First Quartos parallels to all the archaic spellings in the three pages of Sir Thomas More was a new contribution to the proof of Shakespere's authorship of them. Still if there was any doubt left, it was finally removed by Prof. Chambers who showed in them a combination of three characteristics of Shakespere—(*a*) his love for law and order, (*b*) his sympathetic understanding of the workings of uneducated minds, and (*c*) his conviction that the crowd could be swayed by oratory. As a matter of fact, he had a technique of his own for crowd scenes, *e.g.*, in Cariolanus or in Julius Caeser, and that technique is fully exhibited in this play. It is therefore reasonable to acknowledge that the contributor was Shakespere himself.

These three autograph pages throw a flood of light on the character of Shakespere as a playwright and may solve many of the textual difficulties. One page is specially noteworthy in that it has got some corrections. Some of these indicate a slight pause in his thought. After writing ' Yor ' he writes ' Y ' and ' Yo ' again before he adds the substantive. In other lines he appears to be thinking quicker than he can write, for he puts down a word, or part of it prematurely. Some corrections denote a change of mind. Sometimes he is troubled with his minims—he writes ' in ' for ' no.' But on the whole the general impression is that he was a quick writer and thinker ; and Heminge and Condell were not far from truth when they declared that his mind and hand went together.

Another thing which is of utmost importance is the discovery in these pages that the book-keeper puzzled by the author's 'unassimilated interlineation,' neglect of capitals and punctuation, struck out not only the interlineation, but also the original two lines and a half, filling the gap with four words of his own. Shakespere's lines were apparently these :—

to kneele to be forgyven
[is safer warrs, then ever you can make
whose discipline is ryot; why even yor hurly
cannot proceed but by obedience] what rebel captain, etc.

For the words in large brackets, the book-keeper substituted "tell me but this."

In the light of this discovery we may explain the gap in such lines as in Othello (Act II, Sc. I). Iago ends his description of a good woman with :—

" She was a wight if ever such wight were"—Desdemona asks— "To do what ?"

It does not appear what leads her to this question, unless we admit the omission of a word or line suggesting, to do something. Perhaps Iago stopped at the word "To— " and Desdemona asked— " To do what ? "—to which Iago replies—

" To suckle fools and chronicle small beer."

Let us take for instance another well-known corrupt passage in Hamlet (Act I, Sc. IV) :

the dram of eale
Doth all the noble substance of a doubt
To his own scandal.

The passage as it stands does not give any sense at all. Of course various emendations have been suggested. The Smithwick Quarto of Hamlet (1611) print 'dram of ease,' but the good Quarto of 1604 has ' dram of eale.' If we accept ' dram of ease,' then the passage admits of some interpretation. This expression is also found in ' Candy Restored,' a play written by Midmay Fane in 1641. And it is not too unreasonable to assume that a confusion might easily arise between ' eale ' and ' ease ' either in writing or reading. But in view of the interference of the book-keeper with original lines, ' the dram of eale ' passage may be regarded as suspect, for two of its lines contain misprints, *viz.*, ' eale ' and 'of a doubt ' and the third line gives a bad sense.

Another emendation has been suggested by James Nosworthy in The Times Literary Supplement, dated March 21, 1936. This is based on the handwriting of Shakespeare as it appears in the play of Sir Thomas More. He says that ' of a doubt ' is a misreading of ' oft-a-dout,' ' dout ' being the coalesced form of ' do out ' meaning to extinguish, found elsewhere in Shakespere and still current in West Midland dialect. Such being the case, he writes, " it may be assumed that ' *scandal* ' is a misprint for ' *candle* ' the word was printed as ' *scandle* ' in Quartos 2 and 3.

In solving the crux ' to his own s— ' an investigation of Shakespere's handwriting is valuable and his writing of these words, *viz.*, his own, initial Sc, etc., exists in the Sir Thomas More fragment. Compared with that, the line ' To his own Scandal ' may be read as 'So hunes candle ' *i.e.*, ' so heavenes candle,' remembering that ' ea ' was often misread by Elizabethan printers. This emended line is typically Shakespearean and may be paralleled with that in Macbeth—

There is husbandry in heavens
Their candles are all out ;

' This emendation,' adds Nosworthy, ' intensifies the dramatic force of this part of the play, since it makes the ghost's entry more spectacular and the contrast between heaven's candle and the ghostly moonlight, between Hamlet's father and Claudius, becomes very vivid.

We may take another difficult line in The Tempest :—

But these sweet thoughts do even refresh my labours,
Most busiest when I do it ;

The second line has been variously emended. Katherine Garvin supports the line as—

Most busy lest when I do it—

' lest ' standing for ' least.'

Dr. Wilson suggests—

Most busie—idlest when I dote.

It is easy to see how the printer of the Folio may have misread 'busiest ' for ' busy lest ' or ' busy lest ' for ' busie-idlest,' and the matter may be decided only by a careful study of Shakespere's handwriting.

Although our playwright cannot have the credit of being too careful about his punctuation, yet at moments when the emotion was highly strung or the situation tense, he rose to his full stature and marked the lines as he wished them to be spoken by the actor. His system of punctuation was dramatic. But modern editors not being satisfied with ungrammatical pauses or stops changed them to suit their own tastes. Let us take for instance one line and a half from Henry V, spoken by Pistol, as in terror of Fluellen's cudgel, he begins to eat the leek. Modern editors print the lines as follows:—

By this leek, I will most horribly revenge.
I eat and yet I swear.

But there is a complete absence of stops in the Quarto. It is surprising how poor Pistol could make the slightest pause when he was in dread of Fluellen's cudgel every moment. It means that Shakespere wanted the lines to be spoken quickly. We may take the speech of Bolingbroke in Richard II and see what Cambridge editors have done to it.

Bolingbroke—That all the treasons for these eighteen years
Complotted and contrived in this land [.]
Fetch from false Mowbray their first head and spring. [,]
Further I say and further will maintain, etc.

The Cambridge editors in order to satisfy their grammatical conscience did not like to see a full stop between the subject and the predicate, as there was one in the Quarto after 'land.' They also substituted a full stop for a comma after 'spring' making the lines highly respectably grammatical. But if we accept a full stop after 'land,' it increases the dramatic value of the line, the speaker pauses deliberately after stating the subjects, so that they may impress the person addressed, and then he dashes forward with his accusation. But he does not stop after finishing his words ; he has to say something more and he says it immediately lest he be interrupted by Mowbray.

Take for instance the famous 'To be or not to be' speech in Hamlet or the Mercy speech in The Merchant of Venice, everywhere Quarto punctuation is superior dramatically. It is true it is not rhythmical or grammatical, but it served the purpose of stage direction to the actors. Hamlet says to the player " speak the speech I pray you as I pronounced it to you, trippingly on the tongue, but if you mouth it as many of our players do, I had as li(e)ve the town cryer spoke my lines." This suggests that Shakespeare guided his actors at the globe and sometimes indicated the way by punctuation, so that the actors might make a note of them while rehearsing their parts. The question of punctuation is very interesting inasmuch as it shows the artist in his studio and it also adds to the conviction that the Quarto text was most probably taken from his original manuscript.

But this is not all. The texts of some of the plays present another interesting problem. There are five good texts of Hamlet, one which appeared in Quarto form in 1604 and the other which appeared in the first Folio. It is curious that the Folio collators did not make use of the good Quarto text, although they did so in the case of other plays. It is not that they could not obtain the consent of the person who held its copyright. As a matter of fact, Smethwick who held its copyright was one of the collaborators of the Folio edition. The difference between the Quarto and the Folio text is very great. The earlier one consists of about 4,000 lines, whereas most of other plays are about 2500 to 3000 lines. And so is the Folio text. The question arises which is the genuine text ? During the course of the last year, great scholars like Dover Wilson, Lewis, Bateson and others have entered the lists and expressed different views. Is genuine text the best text ? But did the authors always write the best text ? Is it one which satisfies the aesthetic sense ? But is not aesthetic sense different in different people ? Is it one which the author intended ? Here lies the crux of the question. What did Shakespere intend by writing a long and a short version of the same play ? Did Shakespere write only for the stage ? or with a view to the reading public also ? It has been a commonplace of criticism that Shakespere always thought and wrote in terms of the stage and never contemplated for his plays any other kind of publication other than that which stage performance gave. If this view be accepted, then the shorter Folio text of Hamlet which was apparently taken from the prompt book of the theatre may be regarded as the genuine text, for Shakespere intended it to be acted. But did he intend anything else ? He himself talks of the traffic of about two hours and a half on the stage. But to present the Quarto full-text Hamlet within the time prescribed is an impossibility. But the text howsoever lengthy is worthy of Shakespere. Now that

Dr. Dover Wilson has interpreted Hamlet anew in his "What Happens in Hamlet," there is no room for slightest excision or deletion, nor is there any room for doubt that Shakespere wrote each word of it. The very title of the 1604 Quarto is suggestive. It runs as follows:—

> "The Tragical History of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark. By William Shakespeare. Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much again as it was, according to the true and perfect copy."

It was printed from the true and perfect copy. But why did Shakespere make it unusually long? It has been suggested by Dr. Harrison that he was at this time comparatively free and not hard pressed for work and so he simply let himself go. This is also possible that he intended it to be read by the public. It would not be true to say, as is generally believed, that there was no reading public at the time. It will be readily admitted that readers were there of poems and pamphlets. But were there readers of plays as well? It appears there were, otherwise there was no necessity for pirating plays and printing them.

But to judge the intention of an author from mere length may be misleading. The length of Hamlet text does not stand in the way of its being a very good acting play. I have seen it myself performed at the Sadlers' Wells in commemoration of Shakespere's birthday. Certainly it took about 4 hours and about 45 minutes, but the house, which was crowded to its utmost capacity, did not show the least sign of impatience or restlessness. They sat spell-bound till the curtain fell finally on the dead bodies. Notwithstanding these, is it not possible that the author intended one version for the reading public and the other version for the stage?

Sheridan's Critic was acted for the first time on October 30, 1779—the text used for the performance is preserved in the Huntington Library, U.S.A. The first printed edition of 1781, the ancestor of all our modern texts, represents a drastic revision of the earlier acting version. Although Sheridan himself was the Manager of Drury Lane Theatre where the Critic became one of the stock plays, yet it was always the acting version of the play that was used for the purpose. From this it is clear that Sheridan preferred his play to be used in one text and acted in another. Can this not be applied to Shakespeare? Could he not write one text for the reading public and not mind it being revised or cut down for the stage? The great German scholar Schücking in The Times Literary Supplement, May 16, 1936, made a very intelligent contribution to the subject. He thinks that in longer plays, Shakespere always had an eye on the readers, since he knew full well that the run of the plays being over, they would be handed over to the public. Then why not give them something which they might enjoy in their study? Schücking says, moreover, that it is not too difficult to imagine Shakespere, like Moliere, reading to an illustrious gathering of his distinguished patrons those tragical speeches in full which had to be left out in the theatre. Hamlet seems to have some such custom in his mind when he addressed the players—"I heard thee speak me a speech once, but it was never acted." This points to the possibility of private readings of dramatic literature.

Dr. Greg also supports the theory that Shakespeare wrote Hamlet of about 4,000 lines with an eye to the readers and he brings his bibliographical knowledge to bear on the subject. He wonders why the authorised edition of 1604 should have been printed for the same person, called N. Ling, who was responsible for the piracy of 1603? It is highly probable that the transaction was amicably settled and Shakespere was not too displeased with piracy, since it forced the hands of the company and induced him to release the good and full text for the benefit of his readers.

In this connection the titles of Troilus and Cressida as it appeared twice in 1609 are very instructive. In the earlier edition it simply ran as follows:—

"The Historie of Troylus and Cresseida. As it was acted by the King's Majesty's servants at the Globe, written by William Shakespeare." When it was re-issued again the same year, it ran as follows:—

"The Famous Historie of Troylus and Cresseida. Excellently expressing the beginning of their loves, with the conceited wooing of Pandarus, Prince of Licia, written by William Shakespeare."

The very long title like those of novels and romances, suggests that it was intended to create an interest in the reader. This intention becomes more explicit when we read the address added to it.—"Eternal Reader, you have here a new play never staled with the stage." Perhaps the public wanted a fresh play for their study and Shakespere provided for them. When Love's Labours Lost and Romeo and Juliet appeared in good Quarto forms, they specifically mentioned the fact that they were acted before, but they have been "newly corrected and augmented" by William Shakespeare.

Do these not therefore prove that at least some of the plays which appeared in good Quarto form in the lifetime of Shakeapere and with his consent were retouched by him before being printed to suit the reading public ? The alterations made may not be of great significance, but it does not obviate the fact that they were made with an eye to the readers. In Hamlet perhaps he poured out his whole soul, and that is why it has grown in bulk. In other plays he did not do so to the same extent, because he did not feel like it. After all he had his own moods and humours.

Shakespere now therefore should not appear to us as a mythical figure, some shadow of an angel, unknown and unknowable. We have pressed forward through the mist and haze of time to be near enough to feel his presence. We can visualise his autograph MSS. as they are represented in the good Quarto. We can also see what hand he wrote from the play of Sir Thomas More. And in the light of these, many of the fanciful emendations and variants which decorate the pages of Variorum Edition should go and we may hope to get the texts as Shakespeare wrote them, and not as editors wished them to be written.

The notion that Shakespere wrote the plays, handed them to the company and when the time was ripe that he should retire withdrew to his country place helped create a sort of dazzling halo about him. His indifference was mystifying and the readers adored him as one unconscious of his personality. But he was not like a magician who broke the magic wand and vanished out of sight. He was like a man wide awake, fully alive to the role he was playing. He was not indifferent to his plays being pirated or published. He mostly corrected and augmented them for publication. He liked his plays to be studied and appreciated. If not so, there is no point in the statement of Heminge and Condell that they wished that the 'author himself had lived to have set forth and overseen his writings.' Shakespere surely set forth and oversaw some of his writings, but not all. If his life had been spared, he must have done so. He had his ambitions and impediments as other men have. He was one of us and it is happy that we can see him now, almost face to face.

N B. This Paper was read at the Bihar Young Men's Institute, Patna. Mr. J. S. Armour, M.A.I.E.S. presided.

WHERE IDEALISM AND REALISM MAY JOIN HANDS.

BISVANATH BHATTACHARYA, M.A.

THE traditional antagonism between Idealism and Realism which dominated almost the whole of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can by no means be supposed to be on the wane. On the contrary, the same feeling—if not something worse—is still prevailing perhaps in a subtler and more systematic way, through several writings and magazine discussions. One wonders whether the two doctrines really belong to two opposite poles as both the parties seem to profess. How can thought go into the two opposite extremes ? The one or the other way of thinking must totally, or both must partially, be false. An impartial thinker necessarily pauses to examine the origin and growth of such a protracted contest between the two rival schools. And if he honestly pursues his search, he is bound to detect the defect that lies unnoticed or hoodwinked by the interested parties. The truth may, however, lie—as it often does—between the two extremes. So be it our hope that any bias or partisan spirit may not obscure our sight which will let the truth elude our grasp.

A plain-thinking man with mind undisturbed by any perverse sophistication can never dream that there can be any difference between the object he knows and the same object as it is. He will not understand the sanity of the teaching that what he believes he knows—and that correctly—he does not know ; or that corresponding to his knowledge, say of an object, there is in reality no such object. It appears fantastic and frivolous to the man of common sense, yet the philosophers were at pains to have him believe this. The Cartesian legacy, *viz.*, the ill-conceived theory of the absolute difference between mind and matter, took shape in an ominous moment ; and from it followed the immense mischief that had vitiated and obscured the thought of the later philosophers. The controversy first took the shape of a healthy criticism of the view of the commonsense Realists. It, at the outset, centred round the commonsense theory of knowledge. When later on this criticism grew into a quite opposite doctrine which threatened to destroy the very foundation of commonsense it was aided and patronised by more speculative and scientific minded groups of people. It is now agreed on all hands that all these unfortunate controversies originate from the epistemological enquiry.

From the very nature of knowledge arises the problem of epistemology. Every act of knowledge implies on the one hand an object known, and a knower by whom the object is known, so that we may fairly say that there is a subject—a knower and there is a trans-subjective object—the object known. The object of knowledge may most generally be styled Reality. No Idealist can ever pretend to deny that there at least seems to be a trans-subjective reference in every act of knowledge. Even an uncompromising opponent of Realism like Hume feels compelled to speak of it as "the universal and primary opinion of all men," and "a natural instinct or pre-supposition." The question arises whether what seems to be a real object is, and can be, really so.

The reason for such a queer enquiry is not far to seek. Once the absolute duality of mind and matter is admitted, a doubt of this kind is inevitable. The notorious effect of such a notion is found in Locke, the immediate successor of Descartes. To Locke the material world has only a hypothetical existence. Locke's successor Berkeley takes a bolder but natural step further. He does away with (or supposes to have done away with) the possibility of the existence of the external (material) world. Its 'esse' is " percipi." Locke clings to the belief that the material world exists in respect of its primary qualities. The primary qualities, he says, do really exist in the things quite apart from our knowledge of them. But he abandons this position in the case of the secondary qualities. They are true in so far as they are the effects which things, in virtue of modifications of their primary qualities, are fitted to produce in us. Berkeley has the hardihood to deny the existence of the material world. He is an immaterialist. The so-called material world, he says, exists only in our ideas. Our whole sense-experience is treated by Berkeley as Locke treated the secondary qualities. They are nothing more than a series of effects produced in the individual mind. But they are produced not by an independent world of material substances as Locke assumed, but by the immediate causation of the divine will. Berkeley, however, dares not deny the existence of trans-subjective spirits like himself. Such a mode of thinking meets what may be considered to be its logical fate at the hands of David Hume. Indeed, solipsism is the only possible end that a consistent epistemological Idealism at best leads to. Then comes Kant. With him certainly comes a thorough revolution in the sphere of thought. Still we regretfully find that the worn-out fossil of Cartesian dualism is preserved. Kant, though he speaks in favour of both the Idealists and the Realists, yet fails to reconcile the two parties. The idealistic line of thinking branches forth in several directions. There are Subjective Idealism, Sensationalism, Sceptical Phenomenalism, Relativism, Agnostic Phenomenalism—and what not. All these doctrines are, however, hostile in every aspect to Realism. All Realists—from the commonsense Realists to the most critical ones—agree that the external world that is known by the mind exists ; and it exists by its own right without depending in any way whatsoever on mind. It does not make any difference with it whether a mind knows it or not. They say that things are as they appear to mind and mind can have no knowledge worthy of the name, if anything from the objective side does not get reflected in mind. Correct knowledge, according to the Realists, consists in real correspondence of ideas with things existing outside. We need not go into the details of Realism. The bone of contention lies in the theory of knowledge ; and a correct understanding of this will, we believe, be able to dispel the gloomy clouds that have hitherto obscured the field of thought.

A sifting examination reveals that there is truth in the contention of both the combatants. Still, neither party is wholly right as its adherents suppose it to be. The Idealists—if they really deserve the designation—are justified in their claim in respect of the importance of the mental factors in building up real knowledge. But this does not warrant us in minimizing, if not altogether denying, the importance of the objective factor. If knowledge is not to frustrate its own purpose, it must needs have a trans-subjective reference. In vain does mind grope about if it is to move within the cob-web of its own states. Indeed, duality is the pre-condition of all knowledge. But epistemological dualism can never stand in the way of a monism—an idealistic monism. Ill-conceived idealism may shudder at the admittance of anything other than mind; but a true Idealism does flourish, even admitting the objective side of all knowledge. Dualism in knowledge is no proof of metaphysical heterogeneity. All differences arise from a confusion of epistemology with metaphysics. Epistemology is much less than metaphysics. Pringle-Pattison very rightly observes that " Epistemology......has to do entirely with the relation of the subjective consciousness to a trans-subjective world which it knows or seems to know. Metaphysics has to do with the ultimate nature of reality which reveals itself alike in the consciousness which knows and the world which is known." Thus epistemology only deals with the preliminary questions and upon its positive results the superstructure of metaphysics is to be built. But if the result be supposed negative, it means a complete deadlock to all philosophy. It necessarily leads to a thoroughgoing solipsism. A metaphysical Idealism is quite distinct from an epistemological one, which is opposed to Realism. Metaphysical Idealism may not have any opposition with Realism. On the contrary, it may be called the philosophical side of Realism.

But if epistemological Idealism has exaggerated and falsified its claim, Realism may be said to have claimed undue allowance. Its emphasis on the trans-subjective side of all knowledge is quite justified. The vitality of it as a doctrine lies here. But when it goes to posit the absolute independence and separateness of trans-subjective side, it falls into error. The same folly, we observe, vitiates both the combatants. If epistemological Idealism confuses epistemology with metaphysics," Realism too makes the same confusion. The force of epistemological Idealism lies in its emphasis (but not in its overemphasis) on the part played by mind in the formation of knowledge. And so far it is right. So also the plausibility of Realism lies in its emphasis (but not in its over-emphasis) on the trans-subjective reference of every knowledge. Each of the parties exposes its own defects as it tries to triumph over the other by minimizing, if not by altogether denying, the importance of the other. Epistemological Idealism by denying all objective reference in knowledge becomes—to borrow the Kantian terminology—empty : while Realism by negating the subjective factor becomes blind.

Let us now see by a brief examination of the different forms of epistemological Idealism whether they have totally dispensed with what they pretend to abhor most, *i.e.* the trans-subjective reality.

Descartes, although he has made a metaphysical blunder by concocting an unbridgable gulf between mind and matter, still, though inconsistently, believes in the possibility of an intercourse between the two. " Ideas," says Descartes, in his ' Third Meditation,' "may be taken in so far only as they are certain modes of consciousness." But he also says that they may be considered "as images of which one represents one thing and another a different." Locke, however, makes the matter worse. Though theoretically his epistemology is distinct from his psychology, in practice he makes a sad confusion among psychology, epistemology, and metaphysics. Descartes is sure of the existence of the trans-subjective, world : Locke is constrained to allow only a hypothetical existence to it. Berkeley's attack against what he cynically calls "stupid thoughtless somewhat" seems at first sight uncompromisingly hostile to Realism. But his is not a consistent epistemological Idealism. He believes in the trans-subjective existence of other finite spirits and of God the Infinite Spirit. A logical end of epistemological Idealism is, as we have already said, a thoroughgoing Solipsism. Hume's Idealism is supposed to have ended in solipsism. What we know, Hume teaches, is nothing more than our transient and fleeting ' impressions' which are subjective *par excellence.* If we take Reality in a wider sense, we must say that this transient impression is, in no sense, less real. " The wildest fancy," says Pringle-Pattison very beautifully, " that flits through the mind exists in its own way, fills out its own moment of time and takes its individual place in the fact-continuum which constitutes the universe.". Hume at least believes that we know only these impressions. So be it. But we ask, when we know our impressions, do not the impressions become an object for us, and in a sense trans-subjective ? On the subjective side we have ourselves-as-knowing-the-impressions, and on the objective side—the impressions. The trans-subjective to which all subjective facts refer can by no means be got rid of. What Berkeley restores in another form Hume leaves as "a certain unknown inexplicable something," and almost in the same fashion it is retained by Kant as the thing-in-itself. Indeed, no Hume,—no theorist, can deny the contrast between the content of consciousness and that which it stands for. He can never take the particular mental state as independent and self-sufficient ; he cannot but refer it to something beyond itself. This essential contrast is as fully recognized by Mill as any Realist could wish to see it. This would be evident from his own words. " The conception," says he, " I form of the world existing at any moment comprises, along with the sensations I am feeling, a countless variety of possibilities of sensation... ..These various possibilities are the important thing to me in the world. My present sensations are generally of little importance and are, moreover, fugitive ; the possibilities, on the contrary, are permanent, which is the character that mainly distinguishes our idea of Substance or Matter from our notion of sensation." Mill, we observe, admits and even emphasises the contrast of the 'fugitive' content of consciousness with the 'permanent' which is somehow beyond it. And this is just what we mean by knowledge.

One single passage from Kant will clearly show how unreservedly he himself distinguishes his own doctrine [at least theoretically] from that epistemological Idealism. " Idealism," he writes, "consists in the assertion that there are no other than thinking beings ; that the other things which we believe ourselves to perceive are only ideas in thinking beings—ideas to which in fact there is no correspondent object outside of or beyond the thinking beings. I, on the contrary, say, things are given to us as objects of our senses, external to us ; but of what they may be in themselves we know nothing, knowing only their appearances—that is, the ideas which they cause in us by affecting our senses. Accordingly, I certainly admit that they are bodies external to us—that is things which, although wholly unknown to us as regards what they may be in themselves, we yet know through the ideas which their influence upon our sensibility supplies us with, and to which we give the appellation body ; which signifies, therefore, only the appearance of that to us unknown, but not the less real, object. Can this be called Idealism ? Surely it is precisely the opposite."

We need not enter into the metaphysical discussion of Kantian philosophy. In fact, his philosophy may be regarded as a disputed legacy to which both the Realists and the Idealists lay equal claim. And we believe, Kant's vicious distinction between 'noumenon' and 'phenomenon' is greatly responsible for all the misunderstandings and misinterpretations which the post-Kantians and the so-called neo-Kantians made in later years.

All these unmistakably show that consciously or unconsciously a trans-subjective reference in all knowledge is admitted by all who are so zealous to undermine it.

Now, what should be said of the other party which makes the trans-subjective object absolutely independent of mind ? If our sensuous perceptions depend for their matter upon some foreign objects that exist in their own right, what guarantee have we that our subjective ideas may be validly applied to independent objects ? To the question as it is put, there is one legitimate answer—we have no guarantee at all. If the subject and object of knowledge be absolutely disparate, how can any communion be possible at all ? No correspondence can ever effect any relation between the two. The two (to say in the words which Prof. Bosanquet uses in a different connection), instead of coalescing, bid good-bye to each other. However much we cry of 'direct intuition' or 'immediate perception,' it is only a self-deception, or mere jugglery of words. No 'Copy theory' or anything of the kind could ever justify any relation between two absolutely different things. Between two absolutely different things there is a gap that can by no means be filled up.

If then, epistemological Idealism leads to Scepticism or Solipsism, Realism also, at its best, cannot give us any better hope.

A profounder theory may be advanced which is indeed called Idealism but which, unlike the ill-conceived epistemological Idealism, respects and even admits all the legitimate claims of Realism. It has no hesitation to say that when the mind knows anything it knows it as something other than itself. The 'other' is not something illusory: it is as real as the knower himself. As it asserts this, it has no idea of a fictitious chasm between the knowing mind and the known object. It vehemently opposes the mischievous notion of 'phenomenon' which is supposed to be other than, and distinct from, the 'noumenon.' Phenomenon is the appearance of the Noumenon—appearance not in its loose sense, but in the sense of that which reveals the real. The ignoring of the appearance as being subjective construction means the ignoring of the Real. If we believe, as we should, in the immanent unity of the universe—the universe of mind and matter, truth will shine before us with all its brilliance. It is because we unduly and unwittingly sever man from the non-human world that the unbridgable gulf confronts us and knowledge becomes a problem to us. Pringle-Pattison rightly observes that " the process of knowledge accomplishes itself as a matter of fact, with perfect simplicity and naturalness, but philosophers have dug a chasm which cannot be bridged, between the knowledge of the knower conceived as a state of his own being, and the real thing which he knows, or rather fancies he knows." Mind, more particularly man, is a member of the universe. He is never a stranger visitant who is by some chance coincidence placed before a foreign world. Man, we should say, is the nurseling of the universe, and he is the goal after which the whole evolutionary process is striving. The striving is not without significance. Man by communing with the world enjoys the eternal and infinite joy which is being manifested alike in himself and in the world. The world too, finds its expression and meaning in man. As Pringle-Pattison puts it, " The sentient and still more, the rational being appears as the goal towards which nature is working, namely, the development of an organ by which she may become conscious of herself and enter into the joy of her own being." The same idea is poetically expressed by Lotze. Says Lotze, " The beauty of colours and tones, warmth and fragrance, are what Nature in itself strives to produce and express, but cannot do so by itself ; for this it needs as its last and noblest instrument—the sentient mind, which alone can put into words its mute striving and in the glory of sentient intuition, set forth in luminous actuality what all the motions and gestures of the external world are vainly endeavouring to express." Almost in the same vein speaks Laurie. "Consciousness," says he, "provides the last explanatory term of the presentation. Save in a conscious subject the object cannot fulfil itself...... The world without conscious subject is a world waiting for its meaning—an uncompleted circle waiting to be closed...Thus it is that the specific characters of our consciousness are the specific characters of the 'other' or the object. The former do not merely correspond to the latter : They are the latter as fulfilled in a world which is a 'system' and in which, consequently, sentient mind and nature are in organic community."

Call it Idealism or Realism whatever you like. No opposition from the side of the Realist can arise here. An Idealism that ignores nothing—not even the objects that poetic intuitions reveal and which are generally looked down upon as idle fancies of a crazy brain,—is surely more comprehensive than what Realism really claims to be.

It is now evident that all these disputes and differences have their roots in a sad confusion—a confusion between epistemological and metaphysical Idealism. The dualism in epistemology which is indispensible does not mean metaphysical dualism. Epistemological dualism may not, and in truth cannot, stand in the way of a monistic Idealism. Realism may be opposed to epistemological Idealism ; but it cannot have any opposition to a true Idealism. The problem of knowledge is a pseudo-problem. With Pringle-Pattison we say, " The so-called epistemological problem which obsesses modern philosophy, from Descartes and Locke to Kant and Spencer and the most recent magazine discussions—this problem with all the varieties of subjective idealism, agnosticism, phenomenalism, and sceptical relativism to which it has given rise, depends upon the presupposition of a finished world as an independently existing fact, and an equally independent knower, equipped, from—heaven knows—where, with a peculiar apparatus of faculties. This subjective apparatus, brought to bear upon the foreign object, colours and distorts it by investing it with its own subjective peculiarities, and so the mechanism of knowledge inevitably defeats its own purpose."

At Home and Abroad

New Spanish Cabinet.

The cabinet crisis at Valencia, seat of the Spanish Republican Government, has resulted in the formation of a new Government by Senor Negrin who succeeds Senor Caballero. Proof of the new cabinets' determination to bring the civil war to a speedy and successful conclusion is found in the concentration of the Ministries of War, Air and Marine in the hands of the Minister for National Defence.

Japanese Cabinet Crisis.

Japan's present government, dominated as it is by its militaristic outlook under general Hayasi, has been pressed hard by the Minseitó (Liberal) and Seiyukai (conservative) parties to resign and make room for either of them.

In the recent election the latter parties were returned with large majorities, the former having secured 179 seats as against 175 secured by the latter.

General Hayasi, however, is stated to have no desire to yield to any pressure. This is likely to lead to a crisis.

New British Premier.

Mr. Stanley Baldwin, the Prime Minister has tendered his resignation, Mr. Neville Chamberlain succeeding to the Premiership.

Mr. Baldwin will be created Earl Baldwin and his son, Mr. Oliver Baldwin, will receive the courtesy title of Viscount.

Mr. J. D. Rockfeller Dead.

Mr. John D. Rockfeller (senior) died of myocarditis at the age of 97 at Drayton Beach, Florida.

John Davison Rockfeller whose donations are stated to exceed 600 million dollars and whose fortune is reckoned in tens of millions of dollars, was born in July, 1839 in New York State, as the son of a farmer. At 18 Rockfeller was a clerk on 12s. a week and at 19 he was partner in a firm of Commission Merchants which then speculated in oil. Thereafter Rockfeller became part founder of the Standard Oil Company.

Asiatic Problems in South Africa.

The Government of South Africa would, it is understood, appoint two commissions to investigate the Asiatic question, one on mixed marriages and the other on acquisition of land.

Nanga Parbat Expedition

A German Himalayan expedition to climb the Nanga Parbat has been arranged. Lieutenant Smart of the Gilgit Scouts will act as guide.

Federal Court.

The Federal Court is very unlikely to be engaged in any case work next winter, which will be mostly devoted to settling preliminaries including the setting up of a small Secretariat.

Houses for the three Judges of the Court are now ready in New Delhi, while the question of location of the Court will be finally decided on the return of Sir Maurice Gwyer to India in October.

The Advocate-General will be free to practise in all courts provided he does not appear against the Federal Government.

Jewish Immigration in Palestine.

The Palestine Government have announced the new immigration schedule, permitting the entry of 770 Jewish labourers into Palestine between April 1 and July 31.

The previous quota was announced in November, permitting the entry of 1,800.—

Advisory Board of Health.

Although the final agenda of the meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Health has not yet been drawn up, it is believed that the Government is laying special emphasis on three important subjects to be discussed at the conference, namely, (1) adoption of measures to adequately cope with malaria, (2) manufacture of indigenous quinine with a view to make India self-supporting, and (3) nutrition with special bearing on health and the problem of balanced diet for the average man in the countryside.

It is understood that the Viceroy in his opening speech, will give a definite lead to the conference to give a practical solution of the problems.—

Geneva Labour Conference.

Sir H. P. Mody in an interview before sailing for Europe to attend the International Labour Conference as an employers' delegate explained that India was predominantly an agricultural country seeking to improve her economic condition through industrialization. She had to face very keen competition from well established industries in other countries. There was as yet no permanent or completely industrialized labour population in India, a large number of workers being still semi-agricultural. Indian industries were struggling against a variety of other handicaps and the attitude of the State towards them was one of "languid" interest. A further difficulty arose through the fact that Indian States were not under any legal obligation to follow the same standards and conditions as those prevalent in the neighbouring provinces.

The conference, Sir H. A. Mody said, would deal with a number of questions of interest to India, the most important of them being proposals for reductions of hours of work in the textile industry to 40 per week and raising of the minimum age of employment from 14 to 15 years.

He thought that it was impossible for India to consider the proposed 40 hour-week. The textile industry was confronted with many difficulties and could not afford, for some years at any rate, to reduce the present hours of work, which had been fixed only very recently. The biggest problem was to reduce cost and experience had showed that whatever increase in efficiency might take place as a result of shorter hours, it was more than offset by the inevitably higher costs of production.

Labour Legislation in America.

A 40-hour week, a basic minimum wage of 40 cents per hour and a flat prohibition of child labour are expected to be the main provisions of the administration's Wages Hours Bill which President Roosevelt in a special message will shortly recommend to the Congress to adopt. The Bill will probably propose a commission to work out the details of the programme and decide what industries the legislation will affect.

The Statute for Alexandretta.

The Committee of Experts which was instructed to prepare the Statue and Fundamental Law of the Sanjak of Alexandretta has continued its work under the chairmanship of M. Bourquin (Belgian). M. Westman (Swedish) was present to represent the Council rapporteur. The Committee also had the benefit of the advice of the observes' who had been sent to the Sanjak by the Council last September and who had just completed two months in the territory.

Admission of Egypt to the League.

The Government of Iraq, on February 7th, informed the Secretary-General of the League that it had addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt a cordial invitation to that Government to apply for membership in the League of Nations.

The communication stated that Egypt's recently announced intention to apply for such membership to the League of Nations had given the Royal Iraqi Government the greatest satisfaction. Her entry into the League would be a contribution to the stability and peace of the world, and especially the Near and Middle East, in which Egypt and Iraq were linked up by a common tradition and civilisation.

Communications in the same sense were addressed to the Secretary-General by the Governments of Switzerland, the United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey.

News and Views.

[*A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, events and movements in India and Outside.*]

Silver Jubilee of Indian Science Congress.

The Indian Science Congress will celebrate its Silver Jubilee in Calcutta from January 3 to 9, 1938, under the patronage of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal.

Lord Rutherford, Director of Cavendish Library, Oxford, will preside over the meeting which will be held jointly with the session of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

Delhi Medical College

The Lady Hardinge Medical College, New Delhi, will close its Intermediate science classes at the end of the college session 1937-38. Admission in these classes has, therefore, been stopped for this year.

Education of Defective Children

The government of India statistics show the following list of defective children between 6 and 11 years of age for the whole of British India.

Insane—5.746; deaf mutes—25,601.

Blind—17,739; lepers—2,347.

The following numbers noted against each are under the Educational authorities.

Deaf mutes—956; Blind—689; Mentally defective—38; Lepers—257.

It has been stated that the Braille system for the blind has been found very expensive because of the diversity of languages. A common vernacular has, therefore, been suggested for all Indian schools.

2000 year-old Document

Captain V. D'Auvergne, Superintendent of the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, has undertaken to render into English a 2000—year-old original Persian document for which the British Museum is said to have offered £55,000.

The document deals with the fortune of a Royal House of Persia and the property of a descendant of an aristocratic French family.

Central Board of Education

There will be no meeting of the Central Advisory Board on Education till next cold weather, but the two sub-committees of the Board will meet this summer to consider (*a*) the curriculum for girls' education and (*b*) the administration of primary education. The Government of India propose in this connection to constitute a sub-committee of experts drawn from the officers serving the provinces. For this purpose, the Government of India have asked the local Governments to submit the names of select officers.

Dacca University

The results of the negotiation carried on by the Vice Chancellor and Treasurer of the Dacca University with the Government of Bengal for a financial settlement are expected to be very hopeful, and it is stated that additional provisions will be made for the University by the Government in their ensuing budget.

Rangoon University

The Rangoon University Inquiry Committee was appointed as a sequel to the strike in the University and Judson colleges on the 25th February, 1936, as a protest against the disciplinary action taken by the University College and the contemplated disciplinary action of the University against two students.

Passing on to the question whether the Governor-General should remain the visitor of the University, the report says that the combined functions of the visitor and the Chancellor should be made to dwell in the Governor as Chancellor of the University. This would involve the complete redraft of Section 6.

As regards non-officialising the University Council, the number should be an elastic one—elastic enough to ensure as large a representation as practicable of those interested in higher education and at the same time to avoid unnecessary wastage of expenditure.

As regards the Court the Committee recommends that the Chancellor and the Pro-Chancellor should not be members of the Court. Recognition should also be made of the services of the ex-Vice-Chancellors of the University who should become life members of the Court upon their ceasing to hold the office of Vice-Chancellor after having served in that office for not less than a full term and while resident in Burma. It also suggests the appointment in the Court of a person elected by the students.

Primary Education in the Punjab

The Punjab Government is contemplating amendment of the Primary Education Act with a view to extending the period of compulsory education from four to five years. As a corollary the primary school curriculum will be increased to five years. Boys at the primary stage will be given a definite bias in favour of agriculture and from the sixth class it is proposed to introduce vocational training. The Education Act will also be amended to assume power to introduce compulsion in case of girls whenever and wherever desirable.

Indian Monuments

A series of interesting guides on archaeological monuments in India is being published by the Government. These guides deal with the history, sculpture and architecture of those monuments and give a critical analysis of stories current about them.

World Education Conference

Over a thousand delegates from nearly every nation will attend the Seventh World Federation of Education Associations' Conference to be held in Tokyo this summer, on August 2.

The scene of the conference will be laid at the Imperial University.

The Government has provided an appropriation of Y150,000 for this purpose and the general subscription of Y370,000 from interested parties in addition will be used to cover the conference expenditures. Each deligate will be charged Y17 for registration.

The conference will be built around the general theme of "A Twentieth Century Programme of Education." Besides the general conclave of all delegates, there will be various sectional meetings. They are adult education; broad- casting; colleges and universities; educational crafts; geography ; health ; home and school; preparation of teacher; pre-school and kindergarten; secondary education; and vitual education. Each section will be headed by the world authority on the subject and assisted by Japanes experts.

The last conference was held at Oxford, England, in 1935.

Soviet North Pole Expedition.

A Soviet air expedition, headed by the academician, Otto Schmidt, flew over the North Pole on May 21 and landed safely on an ice-flow, 20 kilometres from the Pole and west of Rudolf Island meridan. The aeroplane was piloted by Vodopyanov.

Four members of the expedition, under Schmidt, are remaining on the ice-flow for a year for scientific research while the flow drifts.

The research will include magnetism of Pole, movement of ice, depth of Arctico waters, discovery of the sources of warm air current believed to exist near the Pole, which will simplify the Polar flying.

Professor Schmidt is a famous Arctic explorer and President of the Great Northern sea route.

Training Textile Engineers.

The Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute is celebrating its Diamond Jubilee this year, and efforts are being made to affiliate it to the Bombay University and establish a University degree in Textile Engineering, getting the Institute to work in co-operation with the Technological Department of the University.

It was in the eighties of the last century that millowners thought that for the better utilization of local talent some sort of theoretical training was necessary. It had become increasingly clear that the foundation of an institute that would ultimately give the millowners cheaper skilled labour was advisable. Money for such an institute was quickly forthcoming. A sum of Rs. 5,00,000 of which Sir D. M. Petit gave Rs. 3,00,000 was collected and the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute came into existence with two departments of technology, namely textile manufacture and mechanical engineering. Other departments were later added and the Institute at present gives training also in electrical and sanitary engineering and applied chemistry.

The Institute in 1934 added a special building costing over Rs. 3,00,000 to improve its textile equipment. A complete miniature mill, in which all the operations and the conversion of raw cotton into finished goods of any design, has been added with complete weaving equipment and finishing machinery. The department's laboratories have also been fitted with a double plant for the actual use of the students to facilitate instructions in dismantling and erection of mill machinery.

Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

A United Press news from Bangalore dated 2nd June states :—

No reconcillation having been found possible between Sir C.V. Raman, Director of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, and the Governing Council of the Institute, he has made up his mind to sever completely his connection with the Institute.

This is the outcome of the meeting of the Governing Council held yesterday, the Hon'ble Lieut. Col. C. T. C. Plowden presiding. A suggestion was made by His Excellency the Viceroy, as Visitor of the Institute, that Sir C. V. Raman might continue for another year with a Registrar in charge of the administrative functions according to the recommendation of the Irvine Committee but it could not be accepted by the Council. The Council proposed that Sir C. V. Raman might continue in the Institute as Professor of Physics with a reduced salary and without any administrative powers. They also suggested the appointment of an 'interim' Director and a Registrar to administer the affairs of the Institute.

Sir C. V. Raman did not agree to this. He was willing to accept a reduced salary of 2,000 rupees instead of his present salary of Rs. 3,000 but he was unwilling to be divested of the powers of the Director or continue there as a subordinate to any other Director.

Thus the Governing Council and Sir C. V. Raman could not come to an agreement. The Council have, therefore, resolved to recommend to the Viceroy that Sir C. V. Raman be removed from the office of the Director. They state definitely that they do not want him there on his conditions.

Sir C. V. Raman has therefore made up his mind to have nothing to do with the Institute.

The latest available news, however, is that Sir Chandrasekhar may remain in office for a further period of a year till his term expires.

Miscellany

PRICES DURING DEPRESSION

Economists in India have not bestowed adequate study on the correlation beween prices and wages, or on the subject of prices *vis-à-vis* costs of production and profits, prices in the perspective of currency, etc. It is, however, time to realise that the only economics that is worth while as science is price-economics. The price-mechanism ought to arrest the attention of our investigators more and more.

The fall of wholesale prices is older than 1929, the year with which depression is generally taken to have commenced. The prices began to fall already in 1925 and since then the fall has been steady in the U.K., Japan, Germany, France, Italy, the U.S.A. and other countries. India has but followed the general trend.

The most fundamental fact in the world's price-mechanism of to-day is to be found in the deliberate stabilization legislation of 1924-26 consciously attempted to initiate an epoch of alleged "normal prices" by counteracting the high prices of the post-war inflation period. The currency deflation of that time was the direct first cause of the fall in price which has been continuous since 1925. Simultaneously came the feverish rationalization activities (1926-28) which amounted to a technocratic revolution leading indirectly to the same fall in prices, because they served to keep the level of production virtually at the inflation level.

The depression of 1929-32 was but a continuation on an intensified scale chiefly of the results of these two sets of phenomena. The first attempts at remedying the low prices manifested themselves automatically, by the sheer logic of price-structure, in the restriction of output in industrial countries, the discharge of hands, *i.e.*, unemployment during 1930-32; and this restriction of output somewhat counteracted the effects of rationalization. For agricultural countries the counterpart of unemployment has been the uneconomic prices of the farmers' produce and the consequent increase in agricultural indebtedness. But unemployment has been combated by unemployment insurance which implies to a considerable extent state charity. And agricultural indebtedness has likewise been combated in many countries, including India to a certain extent, by state intervention in the form of remissions or postponements of rent, loan moratoriums, etc.

The second attempt at remedy was discovered in 1931 in devaluation or currency depression which served as antidote to deflation. The little rise in prices that has been manifest since 1935 is due to this curtailment of supply and lowering of the value of currency. There has been hardly anything that can be described as exceptional or special to India. The post-war boom as well as the post-stabilization depression have manifested themselves in the Indian economy in almost the same forms and processes as in other regions of the world-economy. Actually the rise in prices has been still very slight in India as elsewhere because the output (especially in agriculture) has remained quite high.

Depression or fall in prices is not, however, to be taken as equivalent to adversity on a national or world-wide scale. In every country including

India it has been a source of prosperity to the classes with fixed incomes because their salaries have not experienced a considerable cut. Traces of this prosperity are to be seen, among other things, in the construction of new buildings and in the premium collections of insurance companies. Indeed, depression does not necessarily spell universal stagnation just as universal prosperity is not to be associated with boom.

From 1911 to 1931 the population of India increased only 11 per cent. But there are many lines of imports in which in terms of *quantum* (as contrasted with prices) India's consumption increased several times more than 11 per cent. Some of these imports are articles of direct consumption and others are aids to industrialization. The price-movements must not mislead the statistician in regard to the *quantum* movements. For instance, in certain lines India in 1937 finds herself relatively more industrialized and relatively more capable of consumption, in spite of the depression.

The transformation of economic structure during the period of depression is a fact and not only of economic India, but, on a magnified scale, of the British, German, Japanese and other economies as well.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

FROM BONIFICA TO BONIFICA INTEGRALE

Bonifica or land-reclamation commenced in Italy with the birth of this state (1861-70) as a simple measure of *lotta antimalarica* (anti-malaria campaign). From 1876, the first year of *bonifica* legislation in action, down to 1923 it maintained its character as an agency in public health and sanitary reconstruction. That year it began to get transformed into one of the most powerful planks in the entire applied economics, politics and sociology of Italy. Corresponding to this factual or contentual transformation there was a change in the category also, namely, from *bonifica* to *bonifica integrale*. The Act of *bonifica integrale* was passed in 1928.

A very important departure was made in principle by the *bonifica* legislation of 1923 and 1924. The decrees declared state intervention admissible not only in regard to insanitary lands as heretofore but in regard to other lands as well. Among such other lands were signalized those soils which found themselves in backward agrarian condition but were capable of being transformed by economic measures. *Bonifica* was thereby defined in law not only as the technical process of elimination of malaria and improvement of malarial lands from the *sanitary* aspects but also as comprising *economic* improvements. The period from 1923 to 1928 may be described as that of gestation for this tremendous revolution in the socio-agricultural economy of Italy.[1]

During 1925-27 decrees were passed favouring the economic transformation of backward soils. The breaking up of lands was thereby encouraged as well as motor-cultivation. Subsidy was promised to irrigation. One of the decrees had bearing on the improvement of agricultural credit.

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[1] For *bonifica* during the first half a century of its operations see the chapter on "Italy's War-Budget against Malaria" in B. K. Sarkar: *Economic Development* (Madras, 1926), based in the main, as it is, on *La Malaria in Italia ed i Risultati della Lotta Antimalarica* (Rome, 1924) and the Report of the *Federazione delle Bonifiche* (Rome, 1922).

The Act of 1925 was designed to promote deep ploughing (40-70 centimeters=nearly 16-28 inches) with steam-driven machines under state auspices.

From 1926 to 1929 the acreage brought under deep ploughing was 22,418 hectares (1 ha.=2·1/2 acres). The outlay amounted to 4,626,689 lires.

The grants sanctioned for the period 1926-1930 were as follows:[1]

1. For Irrigation: 62,611,000 lires.
2. For Water Research: 3,810,000 lires.

In September, 1928, Mussolini issued a circular to the prefects saying that 500,000,000 lires would be granted annually by the *Cassa Nazionale per le Assicurazioni Sociali* (National Fund for Social Insurance), *Istituto Nazionale delle Assicurazioni* (National Institute of Insurance) and the Savings Fund Association. All these are Government institutions of Italy.

Ruralism, rural politics, rural uplift were the categories in the *Duce's* socio-political messages of 1928. On the occasion of the distribution of rewards (October 14, 1928) to the cultivators who had shewn excellent results in the *battaglia del grano* (wheat campaign) Mussolini said among other things: *Il tempo della politica prevalentemente urbane è passato* (The age of predominantly urban politics is gone).

And the entire nation was initiated into the following *credo* which may be described in one word as agrar-demographic: *Riscattare la terra, e con la terra gli uomini, e con gli uomini la razza* (Redeem the land, with the land the people, and with the people the race). *Bonifica* was already lifted to the level of a programme of active populationism on the one hand and agricultural expansion on the other.[2] This is an important landmark in the evolution of Mussolini's policy of *ritorno alla terra* (back to land) and *bisogna onorare la famiglia* (duty of devotion to the family).

On December 24, 1928, was passed the *Legge sulla bonifica integrale* (Law of integral or comprehensive bonification). It furnished the entire system of bonification with a strong rural stamp. The orientations were diverted from the previous efforts at urban improvement to the special needs of land reclamation in the villages and agrarian prosperity. The measure is considered by Fascists to be as important as the labour charter (*Carta del lavoro*) of 1927 and is generally known as the *Legge Mussolini* (Mussolini Act).

The planned economy of *bonifica integrale* as decided on by the Mussolini Act of 1928 was to commence in 1930 and comprised the following scheme of execution in six items:

Categories.	Value of Enterprise in million lires.	Government grant in million lires.	Period in years.
1. Hydraulic Improvements	4,500	3,060	14
2. Irrigation, independent of *bonifica* in South Italy.	300	204	14
3. Irrigation, independent of *bonifica* in Central Italy.	500	200	8
4. Rural Buildings ...	500	340	8
5. Rural Waterworks ...	200	150	7
6. Farm roads ...	1,000	400	14
	7,000	4,354	

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[1] *Annuario Statistico Italiano*, 1930 (Rome), p. 188.

[2] Papi: "Migrazioni interne e Bonifica integrale" (*Proceedings of the International Congress for the Scientific Study of Population Problems*, Rome 1931, Vol. IX (Rome 1933) pp. 406-410.

Some of the items were to be executed in full within seven years and others were to take as many as fourteen years. The Government was to be responsible for 4,354,000,000 lires so far as financing was concerned.

The economic planning of synthetic land-reclamation, like all other "plannings" in Italy and in other countries of Eur-America and Japan, is but an Italian edition of the Russian *Gosplan*, first, in regard to state initiative, state administration and state control, secondly, in regard to state financing, and thirdly, in regard to the fixed period of time in each instance during which the state planning was to be carried through.

Previous to the coming into operation of the Mussolini Act (1928) in 1930 several small agrarian projects were financed by the Government. These may be enumerated regionally as follows in terms of money laid out:

1.	North Italy:	72,458	lires
2.	Central Italy:	1,223,165	,,
3.	South Italy: and the Islands	8,263,637	,,
	Total	9,559,260	lires.

In order to carry out the provisions of the Mussolini Act an administrative reorganization was felt necessary. The ministry of economy was therefore transformed in 1929 into the ministry of agriculture and forests. It was provided with a general under-secretary as well as a special under-secretary for *bonifica integrale*. This new office was conceived as a unified governmental organ of a "totalitarian" character.

The functions of the Director of *bonifica integrale* were likewise defined by a decree passed in 1930. The details were to comprise hydraulic bonification, roads, mountain-rivers, etc., rural houses, mechanical breaking up of soils, and irrigation. And naturally the Director was made responsible for co-ordination and centralized administration of the diverse interests.

The finances of bonification from 1870 to 1930 are indicated below: [1]

1.	By State:	1,025,800,000	lires
2.	By *concessionaires* (private individuals and companies)		
(*i*)	State Subsidy	1,881,500,000	,,
(*ii*)	*Concessionaires*	923,100,000	,,
	Total	3,830,400,000	,,

During sixty years Government budget was responsible for 2,9,07,300,000 lires. The state responsibility in *bonifica* amounted thus to over 76 per cent. of the total outlay.

The first minister of agriculture and forests under the Mussolini Act was Acerbo. In his judgment as declared in 1930,[2] the year of assumption of office, *bonifica* has lost its primitive character as observed during the previous sixty years. The Mussolini legislation on *bonifica integrale* has endowed the country with the "instrument of rural mobilization." Ruralization has become thereby the "fulcrum of politics," and the means of maintaining an increasing population.

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[1] *Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1930* (Rome), p. 185.

[2] Serpieri: *La Legge sulla Bonifica Integrale nel Primo Anno di Applicazione* (Rome 1931); G. Pajano: "Aspetti di alcumi Probemi della Popolazione" (a paper for the International Congress for the Scientific Study of Population Problems, Berlin, 1935, published in *Bevoelkerungsfragen*, edited by Harmsen and Lohse, Munich, 1936, pp. 798-801.

In February 1933 all previous land-reclamation provisions were formally unified into a consolidating Act.

A great example of the new regime was on view when in December 1933 the bonification of the Pontine Marshes was officially declared complete. A new province, Littoria, was established, and a new city, Pontinia, founded. The total area of this city covers 17,000 hectares. It was equipped with 200 kilometers of roads and 976 kilometers of canals (1 km=$\frac{5}{8}$ mile).

The Fascist Institute of Integral Land Reclamation (*Istituto Fascista della Bonifica Integrale*) was established by the Government in October 1934. Its creation was necessary in order to enable the *consortia* (associations or companies) to supersede landownership, if necessary, and promote land-transformation. The finances were of course to be guaranteed by the state. Another prominent object was declared to be the establishment of small farms on reclaimed land. The purchase of such lands by prospective farmers was to be facilitated by the system of payment by instalments.[1]

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

LAND REFORM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

It is well known to students of comparative industrialism that Czechoslovakia was born like a Minerva, as it were, fully equipped with the paraphernalia of modern industry and commerce as well as technocracy and business organization. As a small state, it may be considered to be another Switzerland, so to say, so far as factories and workshops are concerned.

The modernism or uptodatism of Czechoslovakia is to be found in land reform also. The state commenced its career in this regard by introducing overnight the principles of land-redistribution, land-transfer, land-exchange, land-restriction, and land-control such as had been in operation in Central Europe and England since the last decade of the nineteenth century. As India continues still to be in the middle of the nineteenth century in these respects the story of Czechoslovak land-reform should appear to be of great value to her economic statesmen.[2]

The Land Control Act of Czechoslovakia was passed in 1919, the year of the formal establishment of the state. It placed under Government control all large landed properties including large entailed estates. A Land-Office was created by the Act. The category "large" was defined as being more than 150 hectares (1 ha=2 1/2 acres) of farm land or 250 ha of land in general under one owner. By "one owner" was meant according to this statute the family of a husband and his wife.

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[1] B. K. Sarkar: "Public Works in Fascist Italy" (*Calcutta Review*, October 1933), "The Creation of Small Landholders in Fascist Italy" (*C.R.*, January, 1934), "The Control of Unemployment in Italy" (*C.R.*, December, 1934) and "Internal Colonization in Italy" (*C.R.*, March, 1937).

[2] For previous but corresponding land-reform Acts in Germany, Denmark, and England, see the chapters in B. K. Sarkar: *Economic Development* (Madras, 1926).

It is to be observed that there was nothing of confiscation or expropriation on the then popular Bolshevik lines. The Czechoslovak Act sanctioned simply the "restriction" of the owner's freedom in regard to the disposal of the land. Without the consent of the Land Office the owner cannot according to its provisions sell, lease, mortgage or subdivide his landed property. Besides, land under control can be taken over by the Government and transferred to new owners on payment of compensation to the old.

In regard to compensation one important provision refers to the lands belonging to the members of the Hapsburg dynasty. As Czechoslovakia obtained freedom by disowning the old Austro-Hungarian Empire ruled by the hated Hapsburgs a thoroughgoing expropriation of the Imperial family might be expected to be incorporated in the Land Control Act of the Czechoslovak state. But it was decreed by the new state that compensation was to be paid even for the lands of the Hapsburgs and the money to be returned to the Reparation Commission. The distinction between Sovietic and Czechoslovak land-reforms is patent on the surface.

Another item deserves notice. The Act left outside the Government control all lands and buildings not used in connection with farming.

It is worth while to inquire as to the amount of land the Czechoslovak legislators considered adequate as an "economic unit" or a "family-farm," or, as one would say in England, a "small holding." The Act left no doubt on this point. The original owner was entitled to retain not more than 150 ha of farm land or 250 ha of land in general. The category "large" rendered indeed the category, "economic unit," automatically clear. Under exceptional circumstances the maximum of 500 ha might be retained by the original owner.

The rates of compensation according to the Land Control Act are based on the average prices during 1913-15 at voluntary sales of land exceeding 100 ha. Four distinct regions of land are recognized: (1) sugar beets, (2) cereals, (3) cereals and potatoes, and (4) pastures. In regard to the compensation for the sale of *latifundia* (large property, so to say, exceeding 1000 ha) the rates of compensation are lower than the usual.

The Act declares that the compensation is to be generally in cash. The amount to be paid is recorded in a register of indemnities as Government debt. The interest on this debt is to be paid by the Government at 4%. At least ½% of this debt is to be amortized by the Government every year. The register is kept with the Indemnity Bank.

The uses to which the controlled lands are to be put are precisely defined by the Act. In the first place, certain plots may be retained by the Government for state purposes. Certain lands may be alloted to landless persons as well as war-invalids willing to farm. The Government may sell or lease the controlled lands to small farmers. They may be sold or leased likewise to the co-operative societies of such persons, co-operative societies of home-builders, communes, as well as scientific or charitable institutions.

While dealing with the question of utilizing or allotting the controlled lands it is necessary to invite attention to one or two special features which indeed have become common in the land reform of modern, post-war and recent times. The Czechoslovak Land-Control Act enables the Government to enlarge petty holdings by allotments. The break-up of large estates is certainly one of the main objectives of this reform. But the small holdings are not to be too small. They are to be economically worth while. Consequently, the movement in the opposite direction, namely, of providing for the addition of slices to the too-small or petty farms is an integral part of the Act. It is decreed that the petty holdings must not as a rule be pettier than 5-15 ha in area.

The Act did not contemplate by any means the impoverishment of the people by the partition of large estates into smaller holdings. Holdings, large enough for family maintenance were therefore created, preserved or promoted. The "indivisible farm-unit" is the so-called family-farm of 5-15 ha.

Another characteristic feature of modern land-legislation is also to be found in the Czechoslovak Act. This consists in the establishment of altogether "new farms" and the process as elsewhere is described as "internal colonizing."

Equally noteworthy is the provision for the consolidation of isolated parcels or plots of land into one-tract farms by transfer or exchange.

The Act recognized the necessity for credit assistance to applicants for land, some of whom might be old farmers desiring expansion and others altogether novices in farming. The Government offers loan to such persons. The maximum loan granted is 90% of land value and 50% of building value. Special favours may be shown to the legionaries, *i. e.*, patriotic men who during the Great War organized the alliance of the Czechs and Slovaks with the enemies of their rulers, the Austro-Hungarians. Disabled soldiers likewise enjoy higher than the maximum loans.

The Idemnity Bank offers the loan against the property mortgaged which of course is under the control of the Land Office. Short-time loans may be granted by this office or by banks on its guarantee. But for such loans the applicant must be a member of the Raiffeisen or Schultze-Delitsch co-operatives.

Altogether the Government guarantee for the loans offered by the Idemnity Bank and the Land Office is not to exceed 200,000,000 crowns. There is, however, a special Government fund of 20,000,000 crowns for furthering internal colonization.[1]

The position of land-redistribution in Czechoslovakia may be described in a few figures as at 1933. The Act brought 4,021,617 ha under its restrictive jurisdiction. This is 28·6% of total land area in Czechoslovakia.

The land under control is divided into agricultural and non-agricultural as follows:

Agricultural:	1,283,286 ha
Non-agricultural:	2,738,331 ,,
Total ...	4,021,617 ,,

The agricultural under control is 17% of the total agricultural in the country, and the non-agricultural 42·2% of the total non-agricultural.

The number of landowners affected is 1913. They possessed altogether 4,021,617 ha, the area under control.

The number of "new proprietors" created is 128,183. They own 1,753,357 ha out of which 841,600 ha is agricultural. These new proprietors are of three categories:

1. Those with an average property of 90 ha (2,202 proprietors)
2. Those with an average property of 30 ha (2,273 proprietors) and
3. Those with an average property of something over 1 ha (624,084 proprietors)..

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[1] See Gruber : *Czechoslovakia* (New York, 1924). For some of the data I am indebted for translation from Czech original to Dr. F. Tousek, Consul for Czechoslovakia, Calcutta. See also K. Capek : *President Masaryk tells His Story* (London, 1934).

New proprietors each with an average of 90 ha may be described as somewhat "intermediate," *i. e.*, lying between "small" and "large" proprietors. They are 2,202 in number and possess 222,822 ha out of which 190,251 ha is agricultural and 32,571 ha non-agricultural.

The new proprietors (2,273) each with an average of 30 ha possess 720,902 ha of which only 29,195 ha is agricultural and the rest non-agricultural.

The third category of new proprietors (624,084) possess in all 809,633 ha out of which 622,154 ha is agricultural. The estate of something over 1 ha is not to be understood as the sole property of these individuals, numerous as they are. Small bits were granted to such individuals out of consideration for the fact that they already possessed some property which however was not adequate for their purposes and required to be supplemented.

Finally, it is worth while to observe that many of the small parcels of land not subject to the land restriction system as provided by the Act were enlarged or consolidated by transfers and exchanges. Down to 1933 the position of land-exchanges may be seen in the following table:

1. State land: 26,938 ha of which 16,160 ha is agricultural.
2. Private lands: 12,060 ha of which 10,737 ha is agricultural.

The total area enjoying consolidation on account of exchange or transfer is thus 38,998 ha out of which 26,897 ha is agricultural.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

THE RAMAKRISHNA CENTENARY PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS AND "THE RELIGIONS OF MAN"

The entire proceedings of the International Parliament of Religions held at Calcutta during the first eight days of March, 1937, under the auspices of Ramakrishna Centenary Committee are, it is understood, already in the press. The volume will be entitled *The Religions of Man.*

In the introduction is described the scope of the Parliament. Chapter I describes the full programme complete as it was in fifteen sessions. Chapter II gives the list of persons who sent greetings from the most diverse intellectual centres in Asia, Europe, Afria and America. In Chapter III is reproduced the Address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Chapter IV contains the greetings from the delegates as representatives of their countries or institutions. One greeting was given in Tibetan. Chapter V is given over to the forty messages from the distinguished philosophers, religious heads, sociologists and culture-leaders of the East and West. The originals of several messages are in French, Italian, German, Japanese and Persian. They have been rendered into English for the purpose of this book.

The fifteen presidential addresses are reproduced in their entirety in Chapter VI. The two presidential addresses which were delivered in Spanish and Hindi are published in English.

Amongst those who presided over the fifteen sessions one came from Argentina (South America), one from China, one from Czechoslovakia, one from England, one from Iran and one from the United States of America. The panel of presidents included two ladies, two scholars from Maharastra and one scholar from Gujarat. Bengal also had her share in the *corps* of chairmen. Old Hindu tradition of spirituality and religious scholarship was a represented by two chairmen who hailed from Benares. One chairman was a Mussalman and one a Confucian. In Swami Abhedananda, as one of the chairmen, the Parliament found a colleague of Swami Vivekananda and a direct disciple of Ramakrishna.

The full texts or resumés of all the papers presented and some of the extempore lectures delivered at the Parliament form the subject-matter of Chapter VII which is divided into eight sections according to topics. The number of papers and lectures used for the purposes of this chapter is one hundred and twenty, and they have been classified into the following eight groups: (1) General principles of Religion, (2) Religion and Culture, (3) Religious and Philosophical Doctrines, (4) The Religious Systems of the World, (5) Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, (6) Anthropological, Historical and Comparative Studies, (7) Religion and Social Service and (8) Religion and Current Problems.

Among the paper-contributors and lecturers there are over forty non-Indian names. From the scholars of Madras, Bombay, the Punjab, the U. P., Bihar and Assam there are some twenty-three papers. Among the authors of papers there are sixty professors representing as they do a large number of Universities in the two hemispheres, including the University of Calcutta and other Indian Universities. Some of the papers that came from Europe were written in French, Italian and German. In this book about a dozen Swamis of the Ramakrishna Mission represent the intellectual and literary activity of their centres in different parts of India and abroad.

In Chapter VIII are published the remaining extempore lectures, observations, appreciations and thanks as coming from the members of the Parliament in session from day to day. Some of these lectures were delivered in Bengali, Hindi and Sanskrit.

Chapter IX is given over to the fare well address.

The Volume entitled *The Religions of Man* is going to be one of the most substantial contributions to the philosophical, moral, religious, sociological and spiritual problems of the world to-day. The work embodies the results of investigations by some of the distinguished cultural leaders of the East and the West. The participation of Europe and America is represented in this volume by nearly sixty savants, of Iran and China by three each, and of Iraq and Egypt by one each. The mind of modern Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, Parsees, Moslems, Jews and Christians is as much in evidence as that of Hindus of varied denominations and sects. Altogether the publication bids fair to be one of the greatest land marks in the domain of international and inter-racial co-operation in philosophical and socio-religious thought.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Provincial Autonomy—By K. T. Shah, Vora and Co., Bombay, pp. 444, price Re 1—8 As.

A society has been formed known as the National Publications Society. "The Central and ultimate aim of the Society," observes Mr. Shah, "is to strive for a social system in this country which would have all the means of producing, distributing and exchanging material wealth socialised." To accomplish this objective, it has undertaken to prepare and publish a number of Monographs on different branches of Indian public administration. It should be mentioned that the Editorial Board which is responsible for planning the Monographs of the Society and guiding their actual preparation consists of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Acharya Narendra Dev and Mr. K. T. Shah himself. The volume under review is the first publication in the projected series.

Mr. Shah deals in this book with the mechanism of provincial administration under the Act of 1935. He discusses at length the form of the provincial executive as created by this Status. In this connection he examines the position of the Governor and the powers he will exercise and the authority he will enjoy. He then considers the position of the Ministers and the handicaps under which they will be required to work. The rights and privileges of the Civil Service come in, of course automatically, for discussion and Mr. Shah devotes a long chapter of eighty pages to this topic. He then proceeds to deal with the organisation of the provincial legislature and the powers that have been vested in it. The next two chapters are devoted to provincial finance and judicial administration.

All the publications of Mr. Shah have their merits and defects almost in equal proportion, and the book under review is no exception to this rule. Mr. Shah is never free from haste. He is ever in a hurry. The present work bears marks of haste in every chapter and almost in every page. There are sentences which ought to have been recast, there are adjectives which ought to have been cut out. They would certainly have been so recast and cut out if the book had an opportunity of careful revision. It is unfortunate, as Mr. Shah admits, that as the book was timed for publication before the last provincial elections, no such second reading was possible.

In certain places, jotting down of ideas has been so random that one does not fit in with another and the reader becomes confused and perplexed. On page 48, he tells us that the separation of Burma "may well suggest a separatist bend in the fundamental policy." Then in the same breath he proceeds to observe (p. 49) that "even the institution of Sind and Orissa as separate provinces may not unjustly be taken as illustrations of the tacit resolve of the British Government to allow no single unit so much strength as to make it a source of danger to the central authority." As if these two statements are not sufficiently contradictory, he further gives it out as his opinion that "there are thus inherent, in the 1933 Constitution of India, seeds of a Civil War." But these do not exhaust his inconsistencies. As the reader in his perplexity looks agape, his attention is drawn to the fourth observation of the author in this particular connection. He solemnly states on page 51 that "even in the States, while theoretically only such resources and powers will be transferred to the Federal authority as the Ruler of each federating State considers necessary for the proper working of the federal structure, the exigencies of the situation would enforce a minimum of delegation of powers, or surrender of resources from the State, which cannot but restrict narrowly all opportunities for local development." Even a casual reader will notice that the first statement is inconsistent with the second, the second with the third and the third with the fourth.

It should also be pointed out that his solicitude for the interests of the States is uncalled for and a bit out of place. His apprehension that the federating states will not have ample resources for local development is not only not shared by any true British Indian and sincere federalist, but it must be the opinion of every close student of the federal system, which has been envisaged that the states are surrendering too little and retaining too much of power and authority. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is the colleague of the author in the Editorial Board and the book may thorefore be taken as representing Congress view-points with regard to the different aspects of the new Constitution which have been discussed in this publication. May we know if the President of the National Congress is also of the same view that as a result of the federation the states will be surrendering too much to the Federal Government.

The chapter on the Governor (Chapter III) is possibly the worst written in the whole book. It contains inaccuracies which ought to have been checked and removed before the book found its way out of the press. It contains statements which are startling and are in conflict with the cherished opinions of the country. It contains paragraphs which are absolutely obscure and ought to have been rubbed out before the order to print was given. He tells us (on p. 72) that "if the example of the Australian Common wealth is followed, and the person to be appointed is allowed to be designated by the Provincial Legislature or by the responsible Provincial Government ; or, still, better, if the Irish Free State model is permitted to make the Governorship entirely an elected office, the prospects of a gubernatorial responsibility to the Provincial Legislature would be considerably improved." It is not a fact that in Australia the Governors are ever designated by the local Legislature. Nor is it true to say that the Governor-Generalship of the Free State is an elected office. For about two decades and especially since the Imperial Conferenee met in 1926, it has been the practice that the Governor-General is appointed on the advice of the Dominion Ministry concerned. This has not certainly reduced the Governor-Generalship to an elected office. A few days back it was announced no doubt that the office of the Governor-General in the Free State would be abolished and the head of the state would be a President who would be elected for a period of seven years. But that is another matter. The office of the Governor-General or Governor so long as it is maintained can be, by its nature, only an appointive one. The statement quoted above not only contains this inaccuracy but it contains also the startling suggestion that prospects of gubernatorial responsibility to the Provincial Legislature should have been improved by the adoption of some new method of selection. This suggestion is inconsistent with the system of responsible government which has been developed in Great Britain and in the Dominions and which it has been the ambition of the Indian public to develop in their own country. Of course it is unwise to say that simply because a particular system does not obtain in any major democracy to-day, it will not work successfully in this country. But if Mr. Shah wanted to push his theory, he might have taken more space for this topic and made out a case why Indian environments may be uncongenial to the system developed in the Dominions and why the executive in India should be dominated by a Governor elected by and responsible to the Legislature. But as it stands, the suggestion has only added another element of confusion in the treatment of the question.

Again it is not in one place only that he dallies with the idea of making the Governor responsible for the executive administration of the province. On page 74 he returns to it. "If Governors of Indian provinces" he says, "learn, in the future, to resist the temptation of lending their names to any fad of the moment,—however laudable it may seem on the surface ; and of giving (*sic*) a permanent, abiding shape to *all their own ideals in government*, they would confer a benefit proportionate to the eminence they enjoy in the scheme of Indian administration." (Italics are mine.) It should be noted that by Governors here he means officers chosen on the present basis. We may ask if this respect on the part of the author for Governor's authority is shared by his colleagues of the Editorial Board. To my mind, it is violently in conflict with the standpoint of the Congress whose opinions about the new constitution the book was expected to preach.

It has been pointed out above that in places writing has been obscure and unintelligible. For example the long paragraph, on pp. 74 and 75, may be cited. It is under the heading "Imitation of Britain." The size of the book also has been unnecessarily lengthened. Page after page of the Government of India Act which is available to the public at Re. 1 has been inserted in the book, though immediately after this insertion a summary follows in the author's own language. Ordinary readers are repelled by the language of statutes and they will certainly not read the sections as they have been inserted. It would have been enough if above or below the summary, the relevant sections were mentioned.

We hope in the second edition the book will be thoroughly revised and in places overhauled. It will be wise action on the part of the publishers if it is submitted for revision to one of the other members of the Editorial Board.

N. C. Roy.

Calcutta Geographical Review—Vol. I, No. 1, September, 1936. The Calcutta Geographical Society, Geology Department, Presidency College, Calcutta.

Geography has been one of the neglected subjects in our Educational system and its value from the practical point of view, much less as a science, is yet to be generally recognised in India. The condition is however different, in the west, where, besides being accorded the dignity of a science the role of Geography in the education and cultural life of a people has been widely recognised. It is a good augury that a small band of workers saw through this defect prevailing in our country and the Calcutta Geographical Society was founded in July, 1933 " with the object of supplying the need of a central organisation for the increase and spread of geographical culture in Bengal." During the first three years of its existence the society has been silently pursuing its noble mission and the popular lectures, which the Society organised, do credit to the Society and justify its existence as filling up a great want in the cultural atmosphere of the province.

We congratulate the Society in their new and laudable move in bringing out a Journal, "Calcutta Geographical Review," the first number of which is to be welcomed for its highly informative articles of varied interest by writers, each distinguished in his own field. Among them we may mention "The Everest Neighbourhood, Tibet" by Dr. A. M. Heron, "Glimpses of Burma and the Shan Hinterland" by Dr. M. R. Sahni and Mrs. Syama Sahni, "The Story of a Stone" by Mr. D. N. Wadia, "The Bhuban Caves" by P. Evans and B. P. Singh, etc., the writers, all eminent geologists, giving interesting information the results of their personal observations—not only from the geological or geographical point of view, but, as is specially noticeable in the first two papers, also from other standpoints, such as ethnology, social customs, religion, economic pursuits, etc. The two articles by Mr. B. B. Nag and Mr. A. N. Basu are especially appropriate, the first, "Geography, the Sick Man of the School Curriculum" as an attempt to bring home to our mind the claims of Geography as a science and its value in education, and the second, "Geography Teaching in India" for pointing out the fundamental defects in the present system of teaching the subject in our schools. The last article, "Some Impressions of Japan and the Secret of her Success" by A. C. Bagchi and the two features, "Summary of Lectures delivered before the Society" and "Abstracts from Current Geographical Journals are also informative and add to the value of the publication. At the end are appended the Annual Reports of the Society for the first two years. Several illustrations, maps and plans enhance the value and interest of this number. Though the standard of the Geographical Journals of the west, especially of America, has yet to be reached we have no doubt that the Calcutta Geographical Review fills up a gap in the list of scientific journals of the province and the study of Geography, as the Vice-Chancellor hopes in his message, "will receive a great impetus by its publication."

SARASI SARASWATI.

Pranibijnaner Paribhasha—Dy Jnanendra Lal Bhaduri, M.Sc., University Assistant Lecturer in Zoology, University of Calcutta. Published by Prakriti office, 50, Kailash Bose Street, Calcutta, pp. 201. Price Re 1.

This is an admirable book on Bengali Zoological *Paribhasha* or Bengali Zoological technical terminology. Mr. Bhaduri has shown real ability in writing this book. Now-a-days there is a craze for rendering technical terms in different vernaculars in India but in doing so most of the authors do not pay any attention to the technical terms already adopted by previous writers. Mr. Bhaduri not only has taken into account all such terms of different authors but has given a chronological terminology beginning with English followed by German, French, Italian equivalents coupled with all such terms that had already been suggested by different authors in Bengali. At the end of which he has given a detailed criticism of Bengali terminology of the above authors and at the last he has given his own suggestion. This book will give a great opportunity to future authors who may improve on these data. The genuine love for this subject alone has given Mr. Bhaduri real stimulus and he has not spared any pains to make this book much above the average. We sincerely congratulate Mr. Bhaduri on his success and we hope that he will continue his research in this line so that the Bengali literature will be enriched by his admirable terminology of Scientific terms not only in the domain of Zoology but also in other branches of Natural Science.

H. K. M.

Ourselves

[I. Asutosh Day.—II. The Song Tripitaka, a present from friends in China.—III. Controversy over Equivalence of Examinations.—IV. Difficulty of Bengali students in Burma.—V. Our University and Students' International Union, Geneva.—VI. Sericulture in the University.—VII. Special Readership Lectures.—VIII. Premchand Roychand Studentship in Literary Subjects for 1936—IX. University Representative on the Governing Body of the Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad.—X. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal in Letters for 1936.—XI. Our University and Cambridge School Certificate Examinations.—XII. Biology and Zoology in the Vidyasagar College.—XIII. Fellow re-nominated.—XIV. Results of University Examinations, 1937.]

I. ASUTOSH DAY.

The thirteenth death anniversary of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, which fell on the 25th May last, was celebrated with due solemnity in the city and in this University.

The morning function was held at the foot of the statue of Sir Asutosh in Chowringhee, which was bedecked with flowers from top to bottom. Sir M. N. Mukerji presided. Recalling the achievements of that great son of Bengal, Sir Manmatha told the audience that it was Sir Asutosh who taught the Bengali race to realise their own selves, that it was he who had helped in raising the Bengali language in the estimation of the world, and that it was he again who had made this University respected all over the world.

The evening function, which was held on the first floor of the Darbhanga Building, was presided over by Sir Nilratan Sircar. There was a large and distinguished gathering, and the bust of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was tastefully decorated with white lotuses. The ceremony began with the chanting of a Sanskrit hymn by Mahamahopadhyaya Pramathanath Tarkabhusan, followed by a prayer led by Sir Nilratan Sircar and was concluded with Kirtan songs. Paying homage to the memory of the departed leader, Sir Nilratan said that although they, his disciples and co-workers in the University, were following in his footsteps to advance the cause of higher education in Bengal, everyone wished he were alive to-day to guide them in the most difficult task ahead.

To us of the University Sir Asutosh's is a name to conjure with. He had a genius and a personality that eminently fitted him to carry on single-handed the task of educational regeneration of Bengal.

Nothing was dearer to him than the welfare of his *alma mater*, for which he strove manfully to the last day of his life. A great patron of research, a friend of the youth of Bengal, and a hero of many a battle fought for the cause of cultural advancement of his countrymen, he will ever remain a beacon light to future generations, and his memory will be cherished as a mighty leader who never spared himself nor others. We pay our respectful homage in tears and pray that his soul may rest in peace.

* * *

II. THE SONG TRIPIṬAKA, A PRESENT FROM FRIENDS IN CHINA.

Those who are interested in Buddhism will be delighted to learn that this University has been presented with a complete set of the reprinted Song edition of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka by friends of India in China through the Consul General for China in India. The Song edition of the Tripiṭaka is a valuable acquisition from various points of view. It consists of about 600 volumes in more than 40,000 pages.

The Chinese Buddhist literature consists mainly of Chinese translations of Sanskrit and Prakrit Buddhist texts. These translations were executed in China during a period of intense Buddhistic activities from the end of the 1st century A. D. to the 13th century down. The number of translated texts which now exist is over two thousand, and if we take into consideration the lost translations, the Chinese Buddhist canon once contained more than 5,000 texts. Many of these translations, particularly those of the Vinaya of different schools, are very extensive.

Through the patronage of the Emperors of China various editions of these texts were brought out in ancient times. These editions were the following:—

(*i*) The Song edition—which was printed by means of 130,000 wood blocks in 972 A. D. by imperial order. It is the first printed collection of books in the world. This edition was reproduced several times in China in the 11th century. Several copies of this edition were preserved in Japan and it has now been reproduced in China.

(*ii*) The Yuan edition which was printed in China during the Mongol rule. The edition was published in the 13th century.

(*iii*) Corean edition—an edition printed in Corea in the 11th century A.D.

(*iv*) The Ming edition published in China in the 14th century—catalogue of which was published by the famous Japanese scholar Buniyo Nanjio from a collection preserved in the India Office Library.

All these old editions were the basis of the Tokyo edition of the Tripiṭaka published about 40 years ago and also of the Taisho edition, which has been in Japan a few years ago. But although these old editions of the Chinese Tripiṭaka have been included in the Japanese editions, the publication of the Song edition from China is quite welcome. It will contribute to the growth of the Chinese Buddhist studies in many ways and scholars will be able to control the readings accepted by the Japanese editors. The acquisition, therefore, is a valuable addition to the Chinese collection of this University. The formal presentation will take place shortly.

The offer is made as a " return of the fruitage of Indian culture." To us Indians the work is reminiscent of a great past when India drew the neighbouring countries nearer to herself by the charm of a message the key-note of which was Love and Peace. Today the world is in sore need of peace, and China remembers with gratitude the great Master whose teachings had moulded her life and indoctrinated her for an ideal career of "non-harm and excellence." May the link between India and China be forg.d anew by this happy remembrance and may it last for the good of both !

* * *

III. CONTROVERSY OVER EQUIVALENCE OF EXAMINATIONS.

The University of Bombay in refusing permission to a student, an M.A., in Commerce of this University, to appear at the M. Com., Examination of that University has pointed out that the M.A. Examination of this University as also the B. Com. Examination of the Dacca University are not recognised as equivalent to the B Com. Examination of that University for the purpose of admission to the M. Com. Examination. The Council of the Bombay University have also held that it is impossible for them to recognise the B. Com. Examination of this University as equivalent to the corresponding examination of that University for admissian to the LL. B. course.

The matter was thoroughly investigated by the Syndicate and after due deliberation they have decided that (*i*) the privileges extended to the students of the Bombay University for admission to any of the examinations of this University as non-collegiate students be withdrawn, that (*ii*) no under-graduate of the Bombay University be considered eligible for joining the B. Com. course of this University, and that (*iii*) students, who have passed the B.Com. examination of the Bombay University be not allowed to join either the Law course or the M. A. (Commerce) course of this University.

This University, though it regrets to have come to the above decision, is, we understand, prepared to consider the matter if the Bombay University reconsiders the position.

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IV. Difficulty of Bengali Students in Burma.

The rules regarding admission of Bengali students to examinations in Burma have undergone certain changes which make it difficult for intending students to continue their study in schools and colleges in Burma. Hitherto, up to the examination of 1937, Bengalees residing in Burma have been permitted to offer Bengali as their Vernacular in Burma A. V. Schools up to the highest standard and up to the A. V. High School examinations, and candidates who have matriculated in Indian Universities have been admitted without Burmese provided they passed a special test in English. These rules have recently been revised and the following changes have been made, which will be given effect to from the examination of 1938:—

(*i*) Bengalees residing in Burma will be required to offer Burmese of a prescribed standard in additiont o Bengali at the Burma A. V. High School Examinations.

(*ii*) Burmese shall ordinarily be a compulsory subject for the Intermediate course of the Rangoon University, provided that students from countries outside Burma or from parts of Burma where Burmese is not commonly spoken, may apply to the Senate for permission to take a special Examination *in English* instead.

The Syndicate of this University after giving full consideration to the position created by these changes, have come to the decision that (*i*) Burmese students in Bengal and students migrating from Burma must take up Bengali or Urdu or Hindi as a compulsory subject for the Matriculation and the Intermediate Examinations of this

University and that (*ii*) candidates who have passed the Matriculation Examination of the Rangoon University or the High School Examination, Burma, shall not be permitted to appear at the Intermediate Examination unless they have passed a special test in English to be held by the Principal of an affiliated college. This condition will apply only to those who join an affiliated college. Candidates appearing at the Intermediate Examination as non-collegiate students will be exempted from passing the special test in English.

The above conditions, we are informed, will remain in force so long as similar rules are enforced in Burma.

* * *

V. OUR UNIVERSITY AND STUDENTS' INTERNATIONAL UNION, GENEVA.

The Students' International Union, Geneva, Switzerland and New York have, out of a desire to broaden the field from which students are selected, offered the opportunity of membership in its Geneva Seminar to the select group of students who are most capable of profiting by and contributing to the discussion of international affairs. Pursuant to a request from the Secretary of the Union to send names of former students who are studying in one of the European capitals, *e.g.*, London, Paris, Rome or other centre, and who may be interviewed there, this University has recommended Mr. Dwarkanath Chatterjee, who is now studying in the King's College, London.

We heartily congratulate Mr. Chatterjee on his being selected. He is one of our best graduates and is well-posted in international subjects and he is a fine sportsman.

The Union will, we understand, award tuition scholarships to all students appointed as Seminar Scholars, and in special cases will award scholarships to cover living expenses.

* * *

VI. SERICULTURE IN THE UNIVERSITY.

Those interested in Sericulture will be glad to know that this University has under consideration a proposal from the Deputy Director of Sericulture, Bengal, for co-operation between his Department and the Zoology Department of this University in the research work on the improvement of silk-worms. The authorities of this University have been requested to permit the necessary co-operation and help of Dr. D. P. Raichaudhury and to provide accommodation and the necessary rearing, the cost of which is to be borne by the Deputy Director. The investigation of the matter has been left to Professor H. K. Mookerjee, Head of the Department of Zoology.

Sericulture forms a part of the curriculum for Post-Graduate study in Zoology. When the arrangement for research will be finally made, the University students, it is hoped, will get the benefit of first-hand information and practical demonstration of this important industry.

* * *

VII. SPECIAL READERSHIP LECTURES.

We are glad to announce that Government have sanctioned the appointment of Professor R. A. Fisher. D.SC., F.R.S., Galton Professor of Mathematics in the University of London, as a Special University Reader in this University. Professor Fisher will deliver a course of lectures on 'Mathematical Statistics.'

* * *

VIII. PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIP IN LITERARY SUBJECTS FOR 1936.

The Premchand Roychand Studentship in Literary Subjects for 1936 has been divided equally and awarded to the undermentioned candidates on the usual conditions :—

Name.	Thesis.
Mr. Charuchandra Dasgupta, M.A.	"Terracota Figurines of Ancient India (with 107 photos)" and subsidiary thesis consisting of 16 published papers.
Mr. Minendranath Basu, M.SC.	"The Noluas of Bengal."

We offer our hearty congratulations to Mr. Dasgupta and Mr. Basu.

* * *

IX. UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVE ON THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE INDIAN SCHOOL OF MINES, DHANBAD.

We understand that Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A., has been nominated a representative of this University on the Governing Body of the Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad.

* * *

X. SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE MEDAL IN LETTERS FOR 1936.

The "Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal" in Letters for the year 1936 has been awarded to Mr. Sudhir Kumar Bose for his thesis on "Nature of Sensory Qualities—their Affective Basis and Continuous Character."

We congratulate Mr. Bose on his success.

* * *

XI. OUR UNIVERSITY AND CAMBRIDGE SCHOOL CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS.

The following revised orders have been issued to Heads of affiliated colleges regarding recognition by this University of the Cambridge School Certificate Examination and the Cambridge Higher School Certificate Examination and will be given effect to from the commencement of the session 1937-38:—

1. A student who has passed the Cambridge School Certificate Examination will be regarded as having passed an examination equivalent to the Matriculation Examination of this University.

2. A student, who after having passed the Matriculation Examination of this University or any other examination recognised as equivalent to the Matriculation Examination of this University, prosecutes a further course of study recognised as satisfactory by the University and passes the Cambridge Higher School Certificate Examination, will be regarded as having passed the Intermediate Examination in Arts or Science of this University for the purpose of admission to the courses and examinations of this University.

3. Students, appearing at the Cambridge School Certificate Examination in December, may be allowed, pending publication of

their results at the examination, to join the 1st-year I.A. or I.Sc. Class in colleges affiliated to this University, provisionally, in the month of January following and to appear at the Intermediate Examination, after a regular course of study for a year and a half as non-collegiate students, provided they are sent up for the examination by authorities of the colleges to which they belong and satisfy the other usual requirements of the University, and provided further that they pass the Cambridge School Certificate Examination in either Grade I or in Grade II. If they pass the examination in Grade III, they will be required to prosecute a regular course of study in an affiliated college for at least two years before they are sent up for the Intermediate Examination. If such students fail to pass the Cambridge School Certificate Examination, their provisional admissions to colleges will be cancelled.

In the case of colleges in Darjeeling, such students may join a college not later than the 15th of March following.

4. Students, appearing at the Cambridge Higher Certificate Examination in July, may be allowed, pending publication of their results at the examination, to join provisionally the 3rd-year B.A. or B.Sc. Class in colleges, affiliated to this University, in the month of August following and to appear at the University Examinations as regular students, provided they are sent up for the examination by the authorities of the colleges to which they belong and satisfy the other usual requirements of the University, it being distinctly understood that their provisional admission into colleges will be cancelled if they fail to pass the Cambridge Higher Certificate Examination.

Every case of the nature described above should be reported before admission into the college to the University with the requisite fees and documents for consideration and necessary orders.

Students joining this University after passing the Cambridge Certificate Examination, will be required to pay the usual migration fee of Rs. 15. If they join an affiliated college after the expiry of the last date of admission, they will be required to pay, in addition, the usual late admission fee of Rs. 4.

A student who, after appearing at the Cambridge School Certificate Examination in any year fails to join an affiliated college in the month of January immediately following his examination as provided for in Rule 3 above, will be required to prosecute a regular course of study in an affiliated college for the full period of two years from the commencement of an academic session.

A student who, after appearing at the Cambridge Higher Certificate Examination in any year fails to join an affiliated college in the month of August immediately following his examination as provided for in Rule 4 above, will be required to prosecute a regular course of study in an affiliated college for the full period of two years from the commencement of an academic session.

* * *

XII. BIOLOGY AND ZOOLOGY IN THE VIDYASAGAR COLLEGE.

We are informed that the Vidyasagar College will be affiliated to this University in Biology and Zoology to the I.A. and I.Sc. standards with effect from the commencement of the Session 1937-38.

* * *

XIII. FELLOW RE-NOMINATED.

We extend our hearty welcome to Lt.-Col., T. C. Boyd, M.R.C.P., F.R.C.S.I., L.M., D.PH,, F.I.C., I.M.S., F.S.M.F. (Bengal), who has been re-nominated an Ordinary Fellow of this University.

* * *

XIV. RESULTS OF UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS, 1937.

The results of the University Examinations have been reported as follows:—

I. A. Examination.

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Arts 1937, was 6,283 (including 9 in special subjects), of whom 88 were absent. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 6,186, of whom 22 were expelled.

* The number of candidates who passed the examination is 3,438, of whom 1,051 passed in the First Division, 1,930 in the Second and 449 in the Third. The number of candidates who have passed in one subject only is 8.

The percentage of passes is 55·5.

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* The figures exclude the number of candidates at the Habiganj centre.

I.Sc. Examination.

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Science, 1937, was 3,413 (including 37 in special subjects), of whom 53 were absent. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 3,359, of whom 20 were expelled.

The number of candidates who passed the examination is 1,874, of whom 750 passed in the First Division, 887 in the Second and 204 in the Third. The number of candidates who have passed in one subject only is 29, in two subjects 2, and in three subjects 2.

The percentage of passes is 55·7.

The percentage of passes in 1936 was 59·2.

Matriculation Examination.

The number of candidates registered for the Matriculation Examination, 1937, was 27,562, of whom 139 were absent and 5 were disallowed.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 27,414, of whom 30 were expelled.

The number of candidates who passed the examination is 17,327, of whom 5,431 passed in the First Division, 9,286 in the Second and 2,574 in the Third. The number of candidates who have passed in one subject only is 34 and in two subjects 2 only.

The percentage of passes is 63·2.

The percentage of passes in 1936 was 66·3.

B. A. Examination.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 4,247 * (including 17 registered to appear in one, two and three subjects only), of whom 125 were absent. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 4,088, of whom 8 were expelled, 2,451 were successful and 1,623 failed ; of the successful candidates 2,065 were placed on the Pass List and 371 on the Honours List ; of the candidates in the Honours List 28 were placed in the First Class and 343 in the Second ; of the candidates in the Pass List 190 passed with Distinction.

The number of candidates who have passed in one subject only is 2, in two subjects 12, and in three subjects 1.

The percentage of passes is 59·9.

The percentage of passes was 62·45 in 1936.

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* This figure excludes 33 transferred to other centres.